THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Home Stretch

AS THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN goes into its final days, the best informed observers appear to believe that President Roosevelt will win by a substantial margin. Our readers will hardly need to be told that the editors of The New Republic will view such an outcome with satisfaction. There are faults to find with the Roosevelt administration, both in its foreign policy and on the domestic front; we have never hesitated to point out what seemed to us to be failings, and we expect to continue to do so in the future. But all political life is a choice of alternatives; and any possible disadvantages from a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt fade into nothing when compared with the disadvantages of a first term for Mr. Dewey.

Particularly in the closing weeks of his campaign, Mr. Dewey has talked himself out of any possible serious consideration by serious people for the presidency. His own actions, and those which have been performed, unrebuked, by persons close to him, seem to us to indicate beyond question that he is not of the moral stature required for the presidency of the United States in a period of great world crisis. We recognize the possibility that he may be elected, not by the votes of people who favor him but by the accumulated votes of those who have a grievance, or think they have one, against the Democratic administration, plus the votes of those who are against a fourth term on general principles; but if he is successful, we submit that, on his recent record, it will be a calamity.

First of all, Mr. Dewey has shown himself a man without profound convictions on any subject, domestic or foreign. He has adopted most of the New Deal, and most of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy; but it is painfully apparent that he has done so after consulting the polls of public opinion, which have told him that a majority of the people support these policies. If you study his record, it is impossible to find any clear and consistent line; and this weakness comes down to the present moment. For instance, in his Minneapolis speech he adopted Mr. Roosevelt's policy on the Security Council, including freedom for the American representative to initiate measures against an aggressor without each time going back to Congress for authorization. And yet, on the same Western tour, he endorsed the candidacy of one of the worst isolationists in the Senate, Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. He permitted the keynote address to be given in his Chicago speech by Colonel McCormick's isolationist spokesman in the Senate, Wayland ("Curly") Brooks. He mentioned favorably Richard Lyons, the McCormick candidate to succeed Senator Scott W. Lucas. How in the world can you reconcile these attitudes? The answer is, that you can't, and you aren't meant to. Mr. Dewey hopes that the internationalists will remember the Minneapolis speech, and that the isolationists will remember his friendship for Wiley, McCormick *et al.*

But this is not, in our judgment, the worst aspect of the Dewey campaign. That worst aspect is the deliberate and wholesale use of falsehood as a political

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weapon. Not since Hitler's campaign in Germany before 1933 have we seen such unparalleled and sweeping mendacity. If the Republican Party should win, its campaign methods will rise up to haunt Mr. Dewey in the White House. If the party loses, we shall be lucky indeed if we can bridge over the profound chasms that have been created between groups in our America.

In saying this, we are not being unreasonably squeamish. Political oratory is always like a lawyer's plea in court: it makes the best case possible, and it omits facts which are incompatible with that best case. But what the Republican Party is doing is different. For a very recent example, we have its use of the "Clear everything with Sidney" slogan. The New York Times and Arthur Krock, in whose column it first appeared, insist that this phrase referred only to the vice-presidential nomination (as to which, incidentally, Mr. Sidney Hillman was slapped in the face). Mr. Hannegan, supposedly the only person in the room with the President at the time, flatly denies the whole thing. The Republican National Committee, however, has released hundreds of recorded radio broadcasts saying that "everything in your government will be cleared with radical Sidney Hillman and his Communistic friend, Earl Browder." When The New York Times protested, the Republicans first promised to correct the error and then refused to do so.

Another example is the Republican slogan, "Bring the boys home quicker, with Dewey and Bricker." This is based on the disproved story that the Democrats intend to delay demobilization rather than face possible unemployment for returning veterans.

Another story which seems to be in the same category is the charge that Senator Truman was once a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Truman denies it as completely as any man could, and there seems to be plenty of evidence that it is false. But of course, the denial never catches up with the accusation; and the men who put the story out counted on that fact.

And again, there is Mr. Dewey's attack on the Democratic Party because of a letter written by the Arkansas campaign headquarters, inviting contributions of $1,000 and saying that those who do this "undoubtedly will be granted special privilege by party leaders [and] called into conference from time to time to discuss matters of national importance and to assist in the formulation of administration policies." This letter was clumsily worded and never should have been sent at all; but no one can seriously believe that it bore the significance Mr. Dewey attached to it. It was obviously a cheap appeal to the vanity of possible contributors to campaign funds. Even the heat of a campaign does not justify pretending to be horrified when you are not.

It seems fairly clear that the important defections from Mr. Dewey which have occurred in the closing days of the campaign—defections like those of The New York Times, Senator Joseph Ball, Russell Davenport, Walter Lippmann—have expressed an unuttered conviction that Mr. Dewey just simply will not do. He does not measure up to the size of the job. With Mr. Roosevelt's admitted defects, he remains a great symbol of democracy, the first figure of hope to enslaved peoples throughout the world. Under his leadership of one of the two strongest nations on earth, and in many ways the strongest, the United Nations have somehow managed to stick together, have turned a defensive war which once seemed likely to end in defeat into an aggressive war which now seems certain to end in victory. He never adopted to the full the policies which the editors of The New Republic and many other progressives wished to see employed, for prosperity at home; but he came closer to it than any other President in our history and miles closer than Mr. Dewey, who would certainly give so-called "free enterprise" its head and plunge us again into depression. It is impossible not to respect Mr. Roosevelt for the enemies he has made, just as it is impossible not to fear and distrust Mr. Dewey for his friends. As we said of the New York Governor in our special supplement of September 25: "In spite of his strong self-will and burning ambition, Mr. Dewey would be the prisoner in the White House of the worst elements in the Republican Party, so far as concerns the two great objectives of our time: prosperity and peace."

All Over the World

In the long history of this war, there have been few occasions on which there has been such important action simultaneously on its scattered fronts as in the period just ended. The United States Navy has won a dramatic and immensely valuable, if not final, victory over the Japanese main fleet. There have been convulsions in the China theatre which have resulted in the recall of General Stilwell from his several and ill assorted posts. From the isles of Greece to the ice-limned fjords of Norway, the Germans have been pushed back by the armies of half a dozen Allied and co-belligerent nations, the most noteworthy gains being registered in East Prussia. Even in Italy, where Field Marshal Kesselring, the weather and the terrain have proved unconquerable, progress has been better than usual. And in the west, the British and Canadians have brought the use of Antwerp, and hence a general offensive to the Rhine, from a distant future prospect into one which can be immediately expected.

From all of these developments, save that in China, the United Nations can draw great comfort. While the war against Japan is far from won, its course has been shortened by the resounding victory over the long elusive enemy fleet. While the war against Germany still appears likely to endure into 1945, there is no evident reason why Allied armies should not reach

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the Rhine by Christmas. Thereafter, Germany's capacity to wage war will diminish by a sort of geometrical progression, and an offensive from the river, deeper into Germany, need not necessarily await the coming of spring.

Why Stilwell Has Gone

The recall of General Stilwell can only be considered a defeat for democratic hopes and aspirations with regard to China. In his personal relationships, the General has shown some of the qualities of the porcupine, but he has long been the best friend China had in the military councils of Western nations; he has had a keen appreciation of the tenacity and courage of the Chinese common soldier, so long as he is fed, clothed and armed. From the admittedly incomplete evidence available, it appears that General Stilwell interpreted his responsibility as Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as a responsibility to see that all of China's armed manpower was effectively used—not squandered at the whim of local war lords, or expended in internecine quarrels such as that between the Kuomintang and the Yenan Communists.

Chiang has proved himself unequal to the task of reforming and democratizing the Chungking armies, despite his numerous protestations of faith. General Stilwell may have been less than diplomatic in his approach to the problem of converting the Gissimo. But he was doing his duty as he saw it, and as all true supporters of a truly free China would see it. Churchill's recent strictures against the Chinese were unjust and widely resented, but they may have been due largely to the Prime Minister's inability to distinguish between an authoritarian government and the people it professes to represent. Much of Churchill's bitterness toward "China" is understandable if it is specifically addressed to "the Kuomintang regime in Chungking."

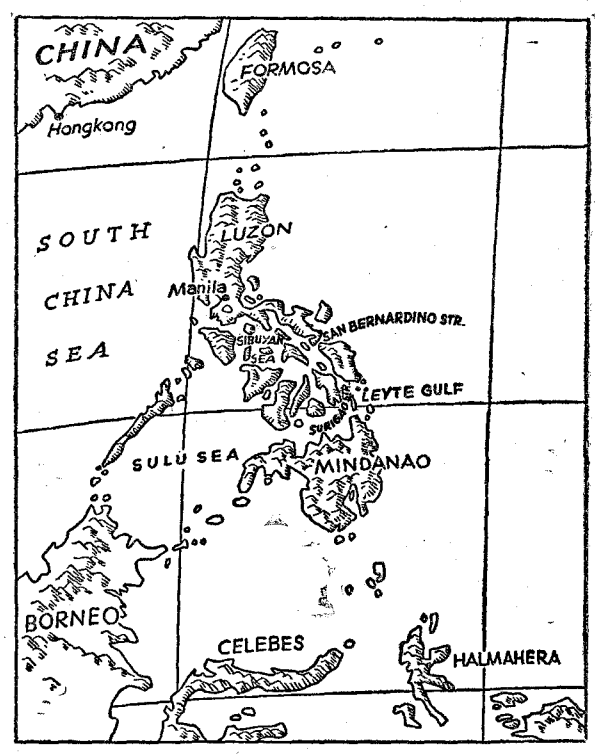
Can China Be Bypassed?

Inevitably, the decline of Chinese resistance to the Japanese, and the fading hopes that China might become a great base for the armed forces of other United Nations, concentrate attention upon the second approach to Japan: that which lies across the seas and through the islands. And the prospects for more rapid progress along that route are markedly brighter now that the Japanese fleet has been trimmed down. American naval men who for two years had been longing for a showdown, line-of-battle action against the Japanese (such as Tsushima, but with the opposite outcome), were disappointed. The Japanese did nothing so conventional as to assemble their entire battle force into a single fleet. Instead they devised an extraordinarily complex plan whereby they hoped to destroy the beachhead itself.

One Japanese force was to proceed through Surigao Strait, to the south of Leyte; a second through San Bernardino Strait, the next clear passage to the north, past the island of Samar. These would form a pincers on the Seventh Fleet. If Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet (containing virtually the remainder of the Pacific Fleet) should try to intervene, it too could be trapped, the Japanese thought, by a third force moving down from Formosa.

The Greatest Victory

The enemy advanced—necessarily through narrow waters—with determination and a daring bordering on foolhardiness. He shook off aerial attackers and proceeded, despite damage. He was defeated, not by any inherent defects in his own plan, but by the superb coördination of American submarine, surface and naval air forces. His southern force was annihilated (all sunk, according to General MacArthur; "sunk or decisively defeated," according to the more cautious Admiral Nimitz), with no apparent compensation to the enemy. His middle force had some success, sinking two American escort carriers (converted merchantmen or tankers), two destroyers and a destroyer escort. Even this limited success appears to have been due to Admiral Halsey's decision to concentrate his force, including Admiral Mitscher's carriers, too far to the north. And before Admiral Halsey is criticized for that, more evidence should be available. It is already clear that he



Victory in the Pacific

The greatest American naval victory since the Spanish-American War has been won within four hundred miles of Manila Bay. Two United States fleets assigned to protect General MacArthur's beachhead on Leyte outmaneuvered and outfought three Japanese fleets attacking in concert from Surigao Strait, San Bernardino Strait and from Formosa.

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had an extraordinarily difficult choice to make in disposing his forces to ensure the maximum possible damage to the enemy.

While it is not certain that the "maximum possible" was achieved, it was greater by far than in any other battle of the war. Admiral Nimitz records two battleships as sunk, along with four carriers, six heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, three "small cruisers or large destroyers" (probably flotilla leaders) and six destroyers. The seven battleships and ten cruisers damaged will be out of action for months. Before the end they will, no doubt, come out to fight again. But that end has been hastened by their damaging, which gives the United States fleet greater freedom of movement.

The result of the battle was less decisive, in a strategic sense, than that of the Battle of Midway. But it established American naval supremacy far west of previous limits. And the American people are indebted to Admiral Nimitz for the extraordinary clarity of the communiqué in which he summarized the highly complex, overlapping engagements, as well as for the victory he and his subordinates have won for the nation.

Last Warning

If the Post Office does its duty, this issue of The New Republic should reach practically all its readers before the election. To them we would say: for citizens of a democracy to exercise the franchise is both a right and a duty. We hope you will vote, and will do what you can to make sure that as many as possible of the members of your family, and your neighbors, do the same thing. If you are a housewife, a student or someone else without a rigid schedule, please vote as early in the day as you can, so as to leave the polls free, in the late afternoon and evening, for those who have to keep regular business hours.

Roosevelt Campaigns

The President's political speeches in Philadelphia and Chicago did much to raise the campaign from the slough of mud-slinging and prosecutor's trickery in which the Republicans tried to mire it. In Philadelphia the "tired old man" toured the city in an open car all through a cold and blustery day and then, in the center of a crowded ball park, delivered a masterly address on the achievements of this nation in the toughest war in its history. These achievements could not possibly have been planned, organized and effectuated if the administration had been, as Mr. Dewey charges, nothing but an assemblage of quarrelsome incompetents who do not enjoy the respect of the country. The great naval victory in the Philippines provided a dramatic emphasis of Mr. Roosevelt's point. The ships which won it were, as he says, authorized and built during his administration. And what has become of Dewey's silly and dangerous charge that the President, for political reasons, had denied sufficient resources to General MacArthur?

In Chicago Mr. Roosevelt talked about the peace in America, and though his points were less concrete, they included assurances which Dewey has failed utterly to provide. The Economic Bill of Rights, which includes the right to jobs, a decent standard of living, medical care, social security and education, was reëmphasized. And the President gave evidence that he knows what its achievement involves. For instance, he set, as the goal of postwar employment, jobs for 60 million people. This is a serious and adequate estimate, unlike anything heard from the opposition. The proposal for allowing quick depreciation of new plants and machinery necessary for reconversion should offer a substantial tax incentive to business. To be sure, it would need to be handled with discretion; recklessly used, it could pour out vast and unjustified profits to elements in the community which do not need or deserve them. However, if you cannot trust your government on this sort of problem, you cannot trust it on anything.

What Churchill Meant

Prime Minister Churchill's report to the House of Commons on his Moscow discussion is important for several reasons. One is that, instead of pointing in the direction of carving out separate spheres of influence in the Balkans, the agreements indicate coöperation in that region. Another is the hope still held out for settlement of the Polish dispute—and the important information that the Polish Government-in-Exile could have settled it months ago if it had followed British advice.

More important than anything else in the speech, as nearly all commentators have recognized, is the restatement of the necessity that Britain, Russia and the United States hang together. Many have interpreted his phrase as indicating that there is, or has been, serious danger of a rift between Britain and Russia. This belief is, in our opinion, erroneous, and what was in Mr. Churchill's mind was entirely different. Both the British and the Soviet authorities are firmly convinced of their need for each other and of their ability to stick together, whatever their differences on specific issues. But the British are seriously worried over the future of coöperation by this country, both with them and with Russia. They know the isolationists are not dead, but sleeping. They understand that the big-money forces in this country will not support their program of full employment and compensatory fiscal policy. They are worried by the power and persistence of American Red-baiters (as who would not be, observing Mr. Dewey's campaign).

Prime Minister Churchill was addressing the people of this country when he emphasized the need for unity.

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Argentina Proposes

Argentina's pious request for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics is the kind of diplomatic blitz that is copied from the fascist notebook on how to conduct international relations. Its hypocritical character must be apparent to all who remember the days of Munich. Argentina, by taking the initiative, obviously seeks to force a showdown with the United States in an attempt to recoup her prestige as leader of the Latin American nations. While her insistence on not having internal policies discussed at the proposed meeting is technically correct, an acceptance of the request would certainly imply that the other American republics have no objection to Argentina's fascist regime. It is for this reason that the request should be considered for what it is—and turned down.

Protest Votes in 1944

Occasionally, a correspondent of The New Republic suggests that because of dissatisfaction with some aspects of the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration, or for other reasons, it is desirable to vote for Norman Thomas and the Socialist ticket. There have been elections in which The New Republic's editors were not unsympathetic to this type of thinking, elections in which a large protest vote against both the big parties seemed to us about as important as a substantial victory for either of the chief candidates. This year, however, we do not feel that the argument is valid. With the race as close as it seems likely to be, not only nationally but in all the states outside the Solid South, and with the stakes in the election as tremendous as they are, we do not feel that dissatisfaction with any one or two of the policies of the Roosevelt administration justifies a vote for Dewey—which, in effect, is what a vote for Thomas would mean.

Senator Downey

In The New Republic of October 9, our Washington correspondent gave a list of eleven members of the Senate with "suspicious or bad" records on isolationism, one of them being Senator Sheridan Downey, of California. Friends of Senator Downey tell us this criticism is no longer true, if it ever was. They point out that he voted on the progressive side on two of the three foreign-affairs issues in the most recent New Republic chart, and was absent when the third measure came up. Of the 18 measures in that chart, Senator Downey has only one adverse vote, and three absences. He is campaigning with the full support of President Roosevelt, while his opponent has the endorsement of Senator Hiram Johnson, who is indisputably one of the outstanding isolationists and reactionaries in Congress, without a single favorable vote in The New Republic's chart.

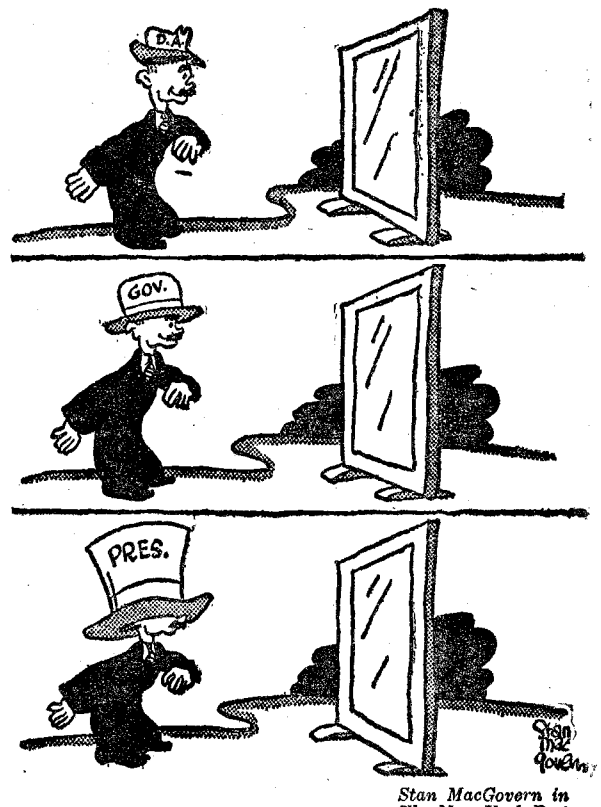
Ball for Roosevelt

Senator Joseph H. Ball's radio address explaining why he is supporting President Roosevelt instead of his fellow Republican Thomas E. Dewey was, in our opinion, one of the finest speeches of this campaign. Aside from the dramatics surrounding its presentation, the speech was an outstandingly forthright statement of the case against Mr. Dewey. Independent voters, concerned primarily with the foreign-policy issue, must surely have been impressed with Mr. Ball's flat charge that "while Governor Dewey makes campaign speeches aimed to please the internationalists, his running mate Governor Bricker, is talking the isolationist-nationalist doctrines of the McCormick-Patterson press."

Senator Ball's stand is the stand of an honest man, taken at great risk of his political career. He deserves the respect of American progressives everywhere.

International Aviation

Soviet Russia has thrown a monkey-wrench into the machinery of the International Aviation Conference which began in Chicago on November 1. The Russians have refused to participate because invitations were sent to three powers which she feels are hostile to her. Two of them are Spain and Portugal, which are fascist dictatorships, and the third is Switzerland, which incurred the enmity of the USSR years ago by refusing to punish severely the assassin of a Soviet diplomat. Clearly, someone blundered in not finding out in advance how the Russians felt, and thus preventing an open and ugly quarrel.



Stan MacGovern in The New York Post

Tommy the Well Dressed Man

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In spite of Russia's defection, the conference will take place and will provide the most strenuous and most practical test yet of how far the nations of the world are really willing to go in international organization. For an agreement to come out of the Chicago conference, more than expressions of good will will be required of the fifty nations represented. For the first time, these fifty nations will be called upon to apply their individual ideas on national sovereignty, their own definitions of "freedom of the air" and like phrases, to a very specific question.

Preparatory to this conference, the British have made public a White Paper on the subject, proposing an international aeronautical body with broad powers to regulate air commerce, including such vital matters as assigning traffic quotas to individual nations. The United States delegates are likely to favor a less powerful international body and to urge acceptance of a "provisional" international system which will permit an early beginning of worldwide civilian operations.

Literally dozens of tough, ticklish questions lie before the Chicago conference. Close observation of the give-and-take involved there will give us a good idea of what can be expected in the other vital international meetings to follow.

Henry Kaiser on Reconversion

The versatile and remarkable Mr. Henry J. Kaiser of Portland, Oregon, recently had a talk with the President about industrial reconversion in general and his own plan for making it as painless as possible, in particular. On leaving the White House, Mr. Kaiser told reporters that the President was "tremendously impressed" with his suggestion that he and other manufacturers at once begin to take over war plants which have completed their contracts, and transfer to these plants the contracts and machine tools which other manufacturers are anxious to unload so that they may reconvert to civilian production. Since then, Joseph Kennedy reports that the President has asked him to look into the Kaiser plan and judge its practicability. Regardless of the merit Kaiser's plan may have, it provides only a piecemeal approach to the biggest single question we have before us on the home front. And that isn't good enough. Congress must again turn its attention to the problem it refused to face in the last session. The Murray-Kilgore bill or its equivalent still remains a first order for congressional business.

Postwar Price Control

Price Administrator Chester Bowles and the OPA are vigorously waging one battle for the public interest, of which few citizens are as yet aware. Already many major industries have entered their pleas for price increases to carry them through the reconversion period. They are fighting for the kind of high price level which many economists contend promoted the low production level and vast unemployment of the last depression.

Bowles is taking a flat stand against allowing such price increases as the steel industry is now demanding. His OPA staff has prepared data on the steel industry's price request which clearly spotlight the real issue. The report shows that if the 10-percent increase were granted, United States Steel, for example, could make two and a half times its prewar average profit by producing at only 50 percent of capacity, could break even while operating at 26 percent of capacity or could make six times its prewar profits with 75 percent of capacity.

Bowles has already begun to tell the people some of these facts. His staff is doing a valuable job of infighting against industry's immediate sorties. We hope that he will take the public into his confidence even further so that he will have built solid popular support for his position by the time the pressure becomes really strong.

Justice for Minorities

California's Second District Court of Appeal, in a unanimous decision on the Sleepy Lagoon case, has reversed the conviction of the twelve Mexican boys who were convicted of conspiracy for murder, during a wave of anti-Mexican hysteria early in 1943. The decision found a total lack of evidence and violations of constitutional rights, and severely criticized Superior Judge Charles W. Fricke for prejudicing the jury by his lack of dignity and temperance in rebuking defense counsel.

Still pending is the case of Frank Fisher Jr., and Edward R. Loury, two young Negro privates, who in 1943, while serving in the Pacific war theatre, were sentenced to a dishonorable discharge and life imprisonment for alleged "rape." Uncontradicted testimony at the original court martial showed that in reality this was a commercial transaction with a prostitute. The case was clearly a frame-up engineered by white-supremacy-minded army officers. Although the sentences for the two men have already been reduced, only their complete freedom and exoneration can remove, as a brief filed in their behalf with the Secretary of War states, "all cause for reasonable doubt among Negro Americans that the Negro soldier receives justice."

People in the Limelight: I

For war purposes, the United States Government has had to buy enormous quantities of land here in this country, for training camps, war factories and other purposes. In view of our previous record in these matters, it is astonishing that this work has been done rapidly, efficiently and without scandal. The person mainly responsible for this is youngish, handsome Norman Littell, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of Land in the Justice Department. Littell, formerly a

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lawyer in Seattle, has been in Washington only five years; but in that time, he has made himself deeply felt. When he entered the Department of Justice he found that the law covering acquisition of land had not been changed in almost exactly one hundred years. He set about bringing it up to date, with such success that the army has put through one tremendous land purchase after another at incredibly high speed and with excellent results. Littell, a fervent New Dealer, has some other good jobs to his credit. His work on the Hetch Hetchy case helped reëstablish the principle that no part of the public domain can be misused by private interests. By preventing appropriations to implement the Elk Hills contract, he helped avert another Teapot Dome scandal. Littell is certainly among the people in Washington on whom you should keep an eye.

Moscow and the Vatican

FOR THE SECOND TIME this year, grave accusations have been directed by the controlled press of the Soviet Union against the Vatican's foreign policy. Last February, the government newspaper, Izvestia, criticized the Vatican's support of fascist Spain, the "image of the clerical states of postwar Europe." This charge has now been repeated by the journal, War and the Working Class, which added that the Vatican's announced policy of strict neutrality in the war is comparable with "neutrality toward a murderer and his victim."

It would be erroneous to read into Moscow's violent denunciation of the Vatican's foreign policy a religious attack on the Catholic Church as an ecclesiastical institution. It is the Vatican as a temporal power, with its wide international ramifications, which is considered a thorn in the flesh of the Soviet Union, largely because the majority of the Catholic hierarchy have not abandoned their irrational fear of communism, stemming from the days of world-revolutionary bolshevism at the end of the last war. As if he wanted to prove this point, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University of America, answering the Izvestia attack, declared that "first, we may expect a separate peace with the German army after the overthrow of Hitler. Second, we may expect an alliance between communism and Nazism for the communization of Europe."

If the exchange of invective between Moscow and the Vatican were limited only to the ideological level, it might be disregarded, but more is involved. Liberals in this country and abroad, without following the "party line," have long had apprehensions similar to those of Moscow over the Vatican's political intentions. While it is impossible to cite specific instances of recent date where the Vatican has sought to translate its fear of communism into concrete anti-communist diplomatic action, it is well known that the Vatican has generally backed up fascist regimes in countries where Catholicism is the predominant religion. Certainly this has been true in Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, Pétain's now defunct Vichy France and Farrell's Argentina, not to mention Mussolini's Italy. The Vatican, of course, has always claimed that it is not concerned with political systems, that it accepts whatever regime it finds. There is an element of truth in this, and if Mexico or the Soviet Union would offer to conclude a concordat, the Vatican would probably oblige. Political ethics has indeed little to do with the Vatican's foreign policy.

But it is also known that the Vatican looks with disfavor on the popular democratic movements now emerging in liberated Europe. Vatican emissaries are reported active in high Anglo-American places, seeking to sell men belonging to the old vested interests and privileged classes who could be relied on to maintain or restore a clerico-feudal and demo-authoritarian political order. This is particularly true of Germany. The Vatican's interest in the future of Germany was recently expressed by Pope Pius XII when he told the "Collegio Germanico-Ungarico" that he would "follow developments of postwar Germany with love and, *if necessary*, will give her his help." (Italics ours.)

There has been increasing evidence that in the liberated countries the popular Catholic parties have been ready to coöperate with both socialist and communist parties, which must displease the Vatican. How well these alliances will work out, it is too early to say. In any case, the Catholic rank and file seems to be less obsessed by the spectre of communism than is the Catholic hierarchy. Because the Vatican feels that it is losing its grip on Europe's democratic Catholic masses, it has to play up the communist bogey for all it is worth in Allied diplomatic circles. This is undoubtedly known in Moscow, where suspicion and distrust of the Western powers is still great. From Moscow's point of view, at least, the Vatican is fishing in troubled waters.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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A Plan for Prosperity

UP TO THIS POINT, nothing has been done to ensure full employment after the war except to talk about it. The prospect of 19 million unemployed seems to have a snakelike fascination for us. We multiply surveys, studies and adding-machine compilations of community wants and resources, as if we had assured ourselves full employment. Shelves groan with past findings and recommendations, many of them sound and workable. But we have done nothing to make these plans work. As in the twenty years before the war, we continue to shy away from the central economic phenomenon of this century—chronic mass unemployment. As we become divided, confused and afraid of problems and opportunities, we are in danger of slipping back into prewar assumptions that we have too many farmers, too many wage-earners, too many acres in cultivation, too much industrial plant—and that we must throttle down both farm and industrial production, again set millions to treading out the grapes of wrath all over the United States. This is one way to lose the peace.

In our highly industrialized economy, full employment is *the* farm-relief measure of our time. Though farmers temporarily may have to make the best of less, of support prices, acreage limitation, food-stamp plans and other subsidized programs, we shall, if we are wise, continue to insist that our best hope of prosperity, security and independence lies in having 136 million men, women and children buy three square meals a day at fair prices.

Let us examine the evasions of the issue to date:

Congress has enacted a tax law that assures corporations up to $30 billion in tax refunds to offset postwar losses—with no incentives to business to invest these funds in job-creating enterprises. Congress also has adopted a Contract Termination Act, which, while a better statute than seemed possible when debate on it began, is essentially a law permitting the liquidation of investment in production. True, the production in which this money is invested is war production. None the less, it is job-producing investment and, to date, nothing has been done to assure the transfer of that investment to job, profit and goods-producing employment in peacetime. The Reconversion Act, purporting to deal with the "human aspects of demobilization," was a gigantic farce. It simply underwrote state unemployment-compensation payments that are inadequate as to coverage, amount and duration. It is based on the assumption, spelled out in the course of debate, that unemployment is likely to be so great as to make payment of adequate benefits impossible. Even the Kilgore-Murray bill (defeated in the Senate), which the National Farmers' Union supported, did not get at the core of the postwar problem. It provided fairly adequate unemployment compensation that would have done much to sustain markets, production and employment during the transition from war to peace production. But its stated purpose of "achieving full employment" tapered down to provisions for more studies and recommendations.

It was with a sense of the urgency of the need for preparedness for peace that, during debate on the George and Kilgore-Murray bills, I proposed an amendment to the latter bill that would really put the power of the government squarely back of the determination to provide jobs for everyone able and willing to work. This amendment is now being recast in the form of an independent bill. It has been put before members of Congress and the President. It is being analyzed in Congress and in executive agencies. It is to be reintroduced, and should be adopted quickly. Delay, particularly after the end of the war in Europe, will cost us dearly in jobs. Delay will cost farmers dearly in markets, prices, income and security on their own land.

Such a bill is not put forward as a panacea. It needs much to supplement it. Questions of price stability, of inequity of wages as between jobs and between industries, maldistribution of output, justice within agriculture—these are some of the many matters that will need to be dealt with separately.

But nearly all our problems start with the possibility of mass unemployment; nearly all our solutions must start with full employment as the premise. Hence, a "full-employment" bill, while it will not in and of itself ensure Utopia, is an indispensable preliminary to the organization of a truly good society.

This full-employment bill is based on two premises. One is that if there is sufficient investment and construction expenditure—private and public—every year, there will be no depression, no breadlines, no closed factories, no mass farm-mortgage foreclosures, no grapes of wrath. The other premise is that if the government is to ensure such an investment program, it must prepare the blueprints for it at the earliest possible date, and be prepared to start work whenever necessary.

There are of course many ways in which a bill could be drawn to effect such a program as I have suggested, and the National Farmers' Union does not insist that all details of its proposals are essential. It *does* insist that action of this kind is essential.

This bill, then, starts with a direction to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to make every year a survey and an estimate of the amount of private investment to be anticipated during the forthcoming year. Once this committee, which is composed

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of the ranking members of the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committees, has made such an estimate, it would be transmitted by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to the appropriate executive official, let us say the Director of War Mobilization and Adjustment. That official, in turn, would notify the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the expected private (and state and local government) investment during the forthcoming year, and the RFC would then make a public announcement that for one month it would receive applications for loans from business men. The RFC would be authorized to make such loans up to the full amount of the investment required to produce full employment.

At the end of this month—which probably should be June, to coincide with the end of the fiscal year—if the total of private investment and of loans approved by the RFC fell short of the sum needed, the War Mobilization Director would proceed to institute a National Works Program, including both physical works and services, calculated to bring the total of investment up to the amount needed to ensure full employment. The National Works Program expenditures, when added to the total of other investment, would in no case exceed the amount specified in the bill as required to produce full employment. It is assumed, of course, that such projects as the St. Lawrence Waterway and the proposed Missouri Valley Authority would be carried forward on their intrinsic merits, not postponed until unemployment threatened.

Concerning the total investment required, there is some difference of opinion among economists. In this bill it is suggested that the total investment needed for full employment and full production of all our resources will run at about $40 billion a year for the next decade, allowing for some increase in population. It is improbable that a $40-billion investment would be required immediately to provide full employment, but the authorization should be written into law so that a fixed upper limit of expenditure can be written down and so that no underestimate is made.

We do not know how great a volume of production we could achieve under such a guarantee to business, labor and farmers. Three years ago some people thought and said that the President was soaring into the realm of the fantastic when he set the nation's production schedule at 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, 8 million deadweight tons of shipping. Well, we did produce them, and more. Just so, now, if we will say to every enterpriser, to every worker, to every farmer: *The government is NOT going to let this thing go boom-and-bust again; it is going to see to it that every man has a job; it is going to see to it that someone is able to buy at fair prices everything that farms produce* —if we say that, then we shall have produced an economic climate never before known in this country.

In 1929, when the country was roaring through its boom toward the crash, private and public investment amounted to around $20 billion. The result was $83 billion in national income—that is, payments for goods and services—and nearly $100 billion in gross national product—that is, total value of goods produced and services rendered. With our technological advances of the last 15 years, our greater population, our general increase in productivity and efficiency, I see no reason why we cannot shoot at a national income of $175 billion and a gross national product of $200 billion. That is what a $40-billion-a-year investment, public and private, could be expected to produce. Perhaps $35 billion a year would do it, for the present.

The bill I have proposed would call for quarterly adjustment, up or down, of the rate of government investment so that, as private investment increased or decreased, that of the national government would move in the opposite direction. For this and other reasons, including the new confidence of business and the country that would result, it is wholly unlikely that the expenditure required by the government would be unduly heavy. Certainly it would not be significant compared with our expenditures for war. It would be far less than the cost of a new and bigger depression.

Let us suppose that, in the first year after the war ends, private investment is expected to amount to $28 billion, and that, this bill having become law, under it the RFC loans an additional $3 billion to business. With, say, an additional $2 billion expected to be spent by state and local governments, it is possible that this total of $33 billion of investment, if supplemented by sufficient government military expenditures, would maintain full employment without additional outlay.

But let us suppose, instead, that some factories began closing, savings began to accumulate in banks and lie idle instead of being spent, and that fear began to spread. Suppose private capital, as in the interest of its stockholders it should do, began to hedge against a slump. Suppose the estimate for private investment during that year were only $20 billion and for all other investment only $6 billion. Then, under this bill, the public investment program under the National Works Program would begin to function.

The administrative branch of government would then be authorized to invest up to $14 billion that year. But when the country knows that this sum and the jobs and profits it will produce are to be forthcoming, regardless, then the probability is that capital will begin to venture out of hiding, workers and farmers will begin again to spend savings. Thus, the Director of War Mobilization, when he makes his first quarterly report to Congress in that year, is very likely to report that, private investment prospects having turned favorable, he will taper off the government investment program in the succeeding quarter. Let us assume, then, that by the end of the year the upturn will have con-

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tinued and that the total investment needed by the government amounts to $7 billion. This is very much what could be expected to happen in a year of rather extensive government activity.

To the objection that this is still a lot of money and that the nation cannot afford it, I think the answer is that we cannot afford not to invest it. Right now, we are spending some $90 billion a year for war and are not counting the cost. While the nation's life is not so spectacularly at stake in peacetime, nevertheless its life as we have known it will still be in jeopardy.

In 1932 the national income of the United States was $40 billion. This year revenue received by the United States Government amounts to about $43 billion. In those two figures, I think, lies the answer to those who say that government action for full employment would be too expensive. Not only is it not too expensive, it is actually the only conceivable way whereby we can prepare to carry the national debt without a tax load relative to income that will be backbreaking.

As Dr. Alvin Hansen puts it: "Our utter lack of a well developed public investment program is a shocking revelation of economic and financial irresponsibility."

The nation as a whole does not realize the danger in irresponsibility. In 1940, about 46 million American workers turned out a national production of $97 billion. By 1946, there will be a labor force of more than 57 millions. Those workers *could* turn out, at 1943 prices and with no other allowances for production increases, $175 billion worth of national production.

But if production in 1946 should remain only at the level of 1940, *there would be 19 million unemployed in the United States*. And at least one million farm families would be pushed off their own land, to compete with other unemployed millions for fewer jobs at lower and lower wages.

The way to avoid that 19 million unemployed is to push production up, and the way to push production up is to guarantee the total national investment, private and public. Let us keep before our eyes the appalling penalties for failure and we will not fail. The country should rally—now or when wholesale cancellation of war contracts and jobs has awakened everyone to postwar realities—to the support of a "Full-Employment" Act that will really put every one to work, and put them to work as free men and women.

JAMES G. PATTON

Greece: The Struggle for Power

The following report of the political situation inside Greece was written on October 8, a few days after British forces invaded the country. We hope it may prove an antidote to the biased and ill informed news dispatches by many foreign correspondents, notably A. C. Sedgwick in The New York Times and John Chabot Smith in The New York Herald Tribune, who seem unable to judge facts fairly because of their eager desire for the return of the King, and British control of the country. —THE EDITORS

THE LIBERATION OF GREECE had been expected for some time. What actually concerned those directly or indirectly interested in the fate of Greece was not so much how soon and in what way the Germans would be driven out, as what would happen after the enemy had evacuated the country. Civil war and anarchy were feared. A menace was evoked by certain circles in the Middle East and elsewhere—the menace of the EAM and its army, ELAS.

For a year, since October, 1943, these two names have been the center of general interest in Greek affairs. With some they were the object of attacks and hatred, and with others, of earnest anxiety. For a year, a constant flow of accusations against EAM-ELAS has been pouring into the eagerly listening market of Cairo, glutting the place and overflowing to other news-outlets, especially to England and America.

The story, peddled around a heavy black market, ran like this: the EAM was presented as a Communist-controlled organization. It had started as a national resistance movement—its initials in Greek mean National Liberation Front—and under this guise it gained the confidence and support of the people. To its ranks the youth of Greece had flocked, young men and women of both liberal and conservative families, led by the patriotic desire to fight the enemy. But these youngsters and the older patriots—professionals, white-collar and other workers, small-town people, farmers, who joined the EAM—were all said to have been subjected to a sectarian indoctrination and then used by a small cell of extremists whose purpose was to remain the only armed force in the country, to seize power after the enemy left and establish a dictatorship.

The story went that the EAM had actually become a terrorist organization, that a small, dynamic minority was intimidating the moderates into joining its ranks; that the EAM and its army, ELAS, kept the population under their thumb, fought all other resistance groups so that they could monopolize the credit and the power, and perpetrated all kinds of inhuman acts. Its bands were said to be made up of former jailbirds and cutthroats; not only some bands, but all or most of them. Anyway their leaders were.

The story peddlers said that the population, which was controlled by the EAM, was groaning under

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this new tyranny, that the people, asked to contribute a part of their substance for the maintenance of the ELAS army and of the refugees whom the EAM was caring for, considered their lot worse than under the Germans. In short, the EAM had shown itself to be an extremely leftist group; it was losing ground, it was feared and hated by the majority of the Greek people, who were longing for the arrival of the German-controlled "Security Battalions" to save them from the EAMites.

From this picture one was expected to draw the conclusion that the EAM was more dangerous than useful, that it should be fought and crushed, and that it *could* be fought effectively and *could* be dissolved. It could be dissolved because the people were supposed to be against it. But to make certain that the fight against it would be effective—and here is the catch—assistance should come from the outside, from the Allies, by building up and supporting organizations (such as EDES, EKKA, the PAO, etc.) and by making ready for armed Allied intervention in Greece at the moment of liberation. The Allied armies, according to these panic-mongers, were needed in Greece not so much to chase the Germans out of Greek territory as to crush EAM-ELAS and to restore order—and perhaps, along with it, a King or a favorite Premier.

In spite of these machinations, which could have pushed already martyrized Greece into another tragedy of bloodshed and destruction, the Allied armies did not have to go to Greece, because the larger part of Greece had already been freed from the German heel by the patriots. The Allied armies, and this is more important, do not have to crush any internal organization in Greece, except perhaps, if they feel so inclined, the German-paid "Security Battalions." Nor need the Allied troops be burdened with any responsibility for restoring order, because that order has already been restored by EAM-ELAS, and because it looks as if the only thing to be feared would be an effort to restore a puppet king.

As it is, the government that is making ready to go to Greece has been, since the beginning of September, a national government, relying on the support of all shades of political opinion in Greece and deriving its authority and prestige from the Greek people themselves. As such, it is being received and acclaimed by them.

This result has been made possible because the EAM has the popular support of the part of Greece already freed, the islands, the Peloponnesus and central Greece. (There is a tiny strip 35 miles long and 25 miles wide in southern Epirus which is under EDES control, headed by an independent guerrilla leader, Colonel Napoleon Zervas. The population in this territory amounts to 70,000, and Zervas' bands are estimated to number around 5,000 or 6,000 rather good fighters. His territory is something like a Greek San Marino at this moment.) The EAM has succeeded because it has shown a remarkable sense of discipline and has established a smoothly working democratic administration, run by the people.

Already the National Greek Government, whose seat is temporarily in Italy, has sent some of its members to the liberated provinces to act as its representatives until the whole government arrives. The EAM has greeted these ministers enthusiastically, has acknowledged the authority of, and is working under, the National Government. When the whole government arrives in Greece, it will find a well regulated state of affairs. Its only worry will be how to run a country which has suffered so much under the enemy, with almost all its resources and wealth drained off, with a population that is underfed and ill clothed, and, out of a total of eight million people, one million with tuberculosis and two million suffering from malaria.

As for the Allied officials, the military will have to help the Greek patriots run the last German and the last Bulgarian out of the last corner of the country; the civilians will have to help the government in its task of administering to the urgent needs of the heroic Greek people. This should be a worthier and pleasanter task for allies and friends of the Greek people than that which certain circles were ready to assign to them.

Here are some concrete facts that show how unexpectedly hopeful the internal situation in Greece has turned out to be, because of the wisdom and discipline of the Greeks themselves. Here are some recent news items which have raised the spirits of those who follow Greek affairs. They explode rumors of the past (and even of the present); they serve to place the EAM in its proper perspective and within Greek reality; above all, they strengthen our faith in the political maturity of the Greek people.

About the middle of September, at General Wilson's headquarters in Italy, a series of meetings took place in which the participants were General Wilson himself, the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. George Papandreou, Finance Minister Alexander Svolos (now the acknowledged leader of the EAM bloc), General Stephanos Sarafis, Commander-in-Chief of ELAS, and Colonel Zervas, head of the EDES bands. It was decided that the ELAS and EDES armed forces would come under the unified command of the British General Scobie. Under his command were appointed the military governors of the parts of Greece lying south of the plain of Salonica: Zervas was appointed to the small piece of territory in southern Epirus which has been his bailiwick in the past; General Sariyannis, an EAMite, for Thessaly and central Greece; Group Captain Vastardis, also an EAMite, for the Peloponnesus; General Spyliotopoulos, who enjoys the confidence of Prime Minister Papandreou and of the Chief of Staff in Cairo, for Attica-Beotia (Athens).

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A few days later the Greek National Government sent from Italy to the Peloponnesus one of its ministers, Mr. P. Canellopoulos, as the government's representative to take over the administration of this great province. Mr. Canellopoulos' friends in Cairo waited anxiously for news of his reception. The Peloponnesus was entirely under EAM control, and this minister had not been friendly to the EAM. He had left Greece in the spring of 1942, just as the resistance movements were budding, and he came to the Middle East, where he became Vice-Prime Minister and War Minister in Mr. Tsouderos' government, from which he was forced to resign a year later. As the anti-EAMites stepped up their accusations, he joined in from Shepheards Hotel. Last May, at the Lebanon conference, he ably assisted Mr. Papandreou in his attacks against the EAM, and after this conference he used unsubstantiated charges to warn his listeners of the EAM menace. He was one of the most intransigent members of the Papandreou government, claiming that there was no basis for an understanding with the EAM bloc.

When Mr. Canellopoulos disembarked at the port of Calamata, he was greeted by the EAM leaders, who conducted him to the Administration Hall and presented him to the crowds as the representative of the government. He was told how things were run in the whole freed area. He found that there was no need for him to set up any additional administrative machinery. Everything was functioning smoothly under the EAM Committee of the Peloponnesus, headed by the venerable Archbishop of Elia, Antonios, which declared allegiance to the National Government and its willingness to coöperate.

While Canellopoulos was being received by the people of the Peloponnesus, who had already liberated themselves, two other ministers of the National Government boarded a plane at Bari and soon after landed at an airfield somewhere in central Greece, near the general headquarters of EAM-ELAS. They were John Zevgos, a Communist, and T. Tsatsos, a conservative liberal and violent anti-EAMite. (Tsatsos, when he came from Greece to the Middle East last May, brought along a batch of hair-raising stories about EAM cruelties of which he had only hearsay knowledge, but which he repeated with an abundance of detail.) The friendly reception he was given by the EAM upon his return soon convinced him that his fears were unfounded. In an interview, granted to the Free Greece Agency, he said:

> I saw that reality disproves the false rumors according to which there is disorder and danger coming from the ELAS in the liberated regions of Greece. On the contrary, life has found its regular rhythm; exemplary order and peace prevail everywhere. It is quite difficult for anyone to believe that such high morale as I witnessed could exist among people who have been tortured and have suffered to such an extent.

So it turns out that the Greek people have shown greater wisdom and moderation than their detractors and that they themselves are saving a situation, created exclusively from without, which could have had tragic consequences. It turns out that the EAM bloc has spared the Greek people and the Allies a great deal of trouble. The Greek people and the leaders of their resistance, by being patient and persevering in their determination to run their own affairs, have liberated the larger part of their own territory, have established in it a well organized popular administration and have overcome the dangers of civil strife.

Cairo PANOS MORPHOPOULOS

Russia Rebuilds

Russia may surprise the world with the speed of her reconstruction even more than she did with the feats of her Red Army. Few countries in history have suffered so much, and few peoples have endured their hardships with greater fortitude. I have traveled from Stalingrad to the Crimea, from Rumania to Leningrad, and have seen the utter destruction left in the wake of the Germans. Yet it is amazing to see the rapidity with which the Russians restore, rebuild and recreate, beginning the job the instant the city, town or village is freed.

Consider the Donbas, which before the war was the Pennsylvania of Russia. In reality it surpassed Pennsylvania, because besides vast coal deposits, it had iron and chemical resources. It also had a huge railway network and great agricultural development. The Stalino region alone produced more pig iron and steel than Italy and Poland together. It produced daily about 150,000 tons of coal. Its farms had some 2,000 combines and 5,000 tractors. Everywhere were theatres, clubs, nurseries, schools, hospitals and, in cities, universities.

The Germans destroyed everything. When the Dombas was retaken it resembled a graveyard. Mine shafts were dynamited, filled with smashed machinery and water and dead bodies. Factories were razed to the ground. All iron and steel works and blast-furnace foundations were undermined and power plants wrecked. In rural areas agricultural implements were destroyed. Livestock was killed or shipped to Germany. The number of cattle was reduced to one-thirtieth of its prewar total. Two hundred and seventy-nine thou-

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sand people lost their lives, including many prominent citizens. More than 200,000 were forcibly shipped to Germany.

During the year since the liberation, 858 industrial enterprises, including 51 collieries, have been restored. The Russians are trying to remove 400 million cubic meters of water from the mines. They are now drilling down to quicksand, and instead of pumping out the water, letting it run down into the bowels of the earth. Since the liberation, the Russians have mined 15 million tons of coal. To meet the desperate shortage of skilled workers, schools have been established and have trained thousands of boys, in addition to the thousands of women who have entered the mines. Iron and steel workers have restarted 17 rolling mills, 42 coke batteries, 7 blast and 23 open-hearth furnaces. Since its freeing, the Donbas has produced 200,000 tons of pig iron, 430,000 tons of steel, 220,000 tons of rolled metal and upwards of 700,000 tons of coke—more than enough for all the blast furnaces. Eight electric-power stations and 49 substations have been restored. The Dnieper River dam is being rebuilt. Thirty-six hundred kilometers of main-line track have been rebuilt, in addition to 14 locomotive yards, 36 car shops and 320 stations.

In agriculture there has been even greater success. Eleven hundred collective farms, 152 state farms and 54 machine and tractor stations have been rebuilt. The district went over the top in its spring sowing by 108 percent.

Russia places cultural revival first. In one year she has restored and opened 1,365 schools, 6 institutions of higher learning, 27 technical schools, 28 children's homes, 302 kindergartens, 226 children's nurseries, 159 hospitals, 408 dispensaries, 13 palaces of culture, more than 500 trade-union and rural clubs, and 200 libraries, not counting thousands of village reading rooms and 120 moving-picture houses.

Take Stalingrad as another example of reconstruction. When I was there a year ago, it was a smoldering mass of ruins. In one year the Russians have rebuilt more than 11,000 homes, 40 schools and 20 hospitals. They have movies in every part of the city, as well as baths, kindergartens and nurseries. Munitions are being manufactured. Every tank, gun or bomb carries the slogan, "Answer from Stalingrad."

Russian engineers have shown astonishing ingenuity in utilizing the parts of smashed machines and making improvised factories. In building new houses, they set up a saw mill and use local supplies. The government has provided credits of 265 million rubles to finance the new homes. Individuals can borrow up to 10,000 rubles for a seven-year period. Local soviets furnish free engineering advice. It is a remarkable achievement that Stalingrad now has the same percentage of teachers and schools and the same number of beds in its hospitals as it had before the war.

Russia is doing some interesting town planning. She intends to rebuild every city on plans far surpassing the old, but preserving the historical cultural values. The plan is to develop architectural beauty in mass-produced homes that will harmonize with the principal public buildings, to increase parks, trees and squares, and to widen streets. New public buildings will reflect the sweeping Soviet ideas of a new epoch. The outskirts of the cities are to be garden areas.

How has Russia been able to achieve such remarkable results in reconstruction? First and most important, reconstruction is part of a centralized planned economy for the entire nation. National resources, both manpower and materials, are directed to the places where they can be most effectively used. Each plant has a plan, every factory competes with others, with banners for the winners.

Second, Russia has been increasing production incentives by every form of reward except private property. These rewards include bonuses for fulfilling norms, prizes, medals, and pictures of the outstanding workers posted on huge signboards.

Third, the central organization and direction have the patriotic devotion of the people. Trained party leaders and volunteers are sent into freed regions to help reconstruction. In Stalingrad a whole corps of lecturers whip up enthusiasm for turning out goods in factories and volunteering to restore buildings. More than 35,000 volunteers have given two hours daily, over and above their regular work, to restoration.

Fourth, cultural development comes first in Russian plans. The budget this year calls for 51 billion rubles for social and cultural work—far more than for economic development.

Fifth, Russia shifted her coal, iron and steel centers to the east, in the Urals, where they could not be touched by the enemy. Now plants in the Urals are able to send both industrial equipment and workers to the Donbas and elsewhere.

Sixth, the collective-farm movement has proved invaluable. It has made possible the setting aside of part of the collectivized machinery, livestock and seed supplies for the liberated areas.

Seventh, Soviet schools have trained hundreds of thousands of technical workers. These workers have become machine-minded. In the Donbas alone, more than 2,000 tractors were assembled from the parts of wrecked machines.

It is not surprising that Pierre Cot, the Free French representative to the Soviet Union, says that France intends to plan her reconstruction after the Russian pattern. The Italian ambassador has recommended that his government send a specialist to study Russian reconstruction.

Moscow (by cable) JEROME DAVIS

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The Voice and the Kids

At nine o'clock in the morning, the Paramount Theatre is full and already the line outside, waiting to buy tickets, goes around the corner. But today is nothing; you should have been here Thursday, which happened to be a legal holiday in New York. On Thursday there were 10,000 trying to get in, and 150 extra policemen totally failed to keep order. Shop windows were smashed; people were hurt and carried off in ambulances. Because the average fan stayed for two or three performances, the trouble outside went on all day. Out of 3,500 who were in their seats when the first show began, only 250 came out when the second show started. Some people were in line before midnight of the previous day. One man said he had tried to buy an early place in line for his daughter for $8, but had been refused. A woman, in line with her daughter long before the doors opened, said the girl threatened to kill herself if kept home.

This, as you have guessed, is the magic spell of The Voice, a phenomenon of mass hysteria that is seen only two or three times in a century. You need to go back not merely to Lindbergh and Valentino and Admiral Dewey, to understand it, but to the dance madness that overtook some medieval German villages, or to the children's crusade. The Voice wields a not inconsiderable power. He can break up a demonstration for someone as important as Governor Dewey, merely by appearing on the sidelines. He needs a hollow square of policemen to protect him anywhere he goes; his telephone calls swamp any switchboard; his mail runs into the thousands per day. So does his income; he averages more than $20,000 a week the year around, and in some busy weeks earns as much as $30,000, which is about $4,300 per day. His admirers send him all sorts of presents, and when he advises them to put their money into war bonds, they try to give the war bonds to him, or one of his children. One girl wore a bandage for three weeks on her arm at the spot where "Frankie touched me." Another went to 56 consecutive performances in a theatre where he was playing (this means five or six performances a day). Merely to see him cross the sidewalk from an automobile to a broadcasting station, young idolators lined up five hours in advance.

Two girls picked up by police in Pittsburgh had spent their whole savings and run away from their home in Brooklyn because The Voice was appearing in the Pennsylvania city. A soldier who happens to have the same name gets burning love letters by the dozen. When he appeared in public (he resembles The Voice) he was mobbed by feminine admirers who tore off most of his clothes. The Voice's home is invaded nearly every day by young girls who make a pretext of asking for a drink of water, or to use the bathroom. Trained nurses have to be on the premises in any theatre where he appears, to soothe the hysterical. (Some of those who faint have gone 10 or 12 hours without food, to see successive performances.) It is something to think about.

At 9:10 a. m., inside the theatre, the over-ornate red and gold decorations, somebody's idea of the last word in luxury, are almost submerged under a sea of youthful femininity. The house is already packed, but the watchful ushers will not let them stand in the aisles, and therefore the many hundreds who are waiting are shepherded behind glass in the lobby. Four-fifths of those present are of the feminine sex and of these, at least four-fifths belong to the bobby-socks brigade, age perhaps twelve to sixteen. Hundreds of them are wearing the polka-dotted blue bow tie popularized by their idol. Although his appearance is still an hour away, they are in a mood to squeal, and squeal they do. The movie which grinds its way across the screen is a routine affair, but the bobby-socksers take it big, with wild bursts of applause in unexpected places.

The electric contagion of excitement steadily mounts as the film ends and the stage show begins. Everything gets twice the reception it deserves. Then, at a familiar bar of music, the crowd goes completely crazy. It is the entrance cue for The Voice, which was instantly recognized by the devout. The shrieks rise to a crashing crescendo such as one hears but rarely in a lifetime. Through the portieres at the side of the stage comes a pleasant-appearing young man in an expensive brown tweed coat and brown doeskin trousers. With gawky long steps he moves awkwardly to the center of the stage, while the shrieking continues. The bobby-socksers are on their feet now, applauding frantically. A few of them slump into their seats, either fainting or convincing themselves that they are doing so. Some of them rush down the aisle to get as close as possible to their hero. (When he leaves the theatre, a double line of police has to fight back the adorers who yearn to touch him, as, in the Middle Ages, victims of disease sought the healing touch of the king.)

Standing at the microphone, he looks, under the spotlight, like a young Walter Huston. He has a head of tousled black curls and holds it awkwardly to one side as he gestures clumsily and bashfully with his long arms, trying to keep the crowd quiet enough for him to sing "Embraceable You." Contrary to expectation, he appears in excellent health, with a face that seems tanned, not made up. A girl sitting by me says, "Look, he has broad shoulders," and her boy friend replies scornfully, "Aw, nuts! Pads!" Obviously he is right.

Now, having with difficulty created a partial state of

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order, The Voice performs. Diffidently, almost bashfully, yet with sure showmanship and magnificent timing, he sings five or six songs, with intervals of patter between them. His voice, to this auditor, seems a pleasant, untrained light baritone—a weak one, were it not boosted in power by the microphone. His talk is inconsequential chatter, which I assume was written for him by someone in the entourage that naturally goes with an income of $1,100,000 a year. He complains a little about highbrow psychologists who write articles about him; carries on a routine artificial "feud" with Bing Crosby (who of course is not present). One or two of his songs were evidently chosen to elicit a frantic response from the audience. When he sings sadly "I'll walk alone," the child sitting next to me shouts in seemingly genuine anguish, "I'll walk wid ya, Frankie," and so, in various words, do several hundred others. When the song says that nobody loves him, a faithful protagonist on my right groans, "Are you kiddin', Frankie?" Then the whole audience falls into an antiphony with him, Frankie shouting "No!" and the audience "Yes!" five or six times, the point in debate being whether he is popular or not.

Presently he is singing a song—"Everything Happens to Me"—which seems to be a running diary of his recent life. He brings in the fact, skillfully and without offense, that he recently had tea with the President. Frankie is a Roosevelt fan, he and his wife have given $7,500 to the NCPAC and, if his adorers were old enough to vote, he could win the election single-handed. He breaks all rules for romantic heroes by talking about his wife and two children and mentions the fact that another child is on the way. Far from being repelled by this evidence of domestic bliss, his audience seems enraptured. They shriek, even during his songs, until he is forced to take steps. "Shut UP!" he cries, with mock ferocity. The kids see through him; they understand perfectly that he doesn't mean it.

Another song, and he has vanished, amid a continuing hailstorm of those astonishing high-pitched shrieks. Instantly the orchestra swings into "The Star-Spangled Banner," and twin spotlights center on American flags whipping in the breeze created by electric fans—obviously the only way to avoid a riot.

What is the cause of it all? It is reasonable to suppose that it began as a publicity stunt, with the first swooners and screamers hired by a press agent. (The young man who threw eggs at Frankie the other day admitted he had been paid $10 to do so, by "a reporter.") But today, it is a genuine mass phenomenon, far beyond the power of any press agent to control. Thousands of girls profess to be spellbound just from hearing The Voice over the radio, never having seen him in the flesh. Undoubtedly, just plain sex has a great deal to do with the whole matter. If the bobby-socksers were a little older, much of it might be explained, at least partly, in terms of wartime frustration, with 11 million young men away in uniform. Doubtless the phenomenon has several sources. Partly, it has become a fad now, with girls of a certain age, to join in the hysterics. You go expecting to be overpowered, and if you weren't, you'd feel you hadn't had your money's worth. But it runs deeper than that. Although I am told that devotion to The Voice is found in all classes of society, nearly all of the bobby-socksers whom I saw at the Paramount gave every appearance of being children of the poor. Oddly enough, this fragile young singer has, among other qualities, a sense of strength and power: there is a solidity and sureness about him that are out of all proportion to his physical frailness. I would guess that these children find in him, for all his youthfulness, something of a father image. And beyond that, he represents a dream of what they themselves might conceivably do or become. He earns a million a year, and yet he talks their language; he is just a kid from Hoboken who got the breaks. In everything he says and does, he aligns himself with the youngsters and against the adult world. It is always "we" and never "you."

But my strongest impression was, not that Frankie means so much to the bobby-socksers, as that everything else means so little. Our civilization no doubt seems wonderful to the children of half-starved, dictator-ridden Europe; our multiplicity of gadgets is the envy of the world. And yet, if I read the bobby-socksers aright, we have left them with a hunger still unfulfilled: a hunger for heroes, for ideal things that do not appear, or at least not in adequate quantities, in a civilization that is so busy making things and selling things as ours. Whatever else you may say of the adoration of The Voice, it is a strictly non-commercial enterprise, a selfless idolatry which pays its 75 cents at the box-office and asks in return only the privilege of being allowed to ruin its vocal cords. Perhaps Frankie is more important as a symbol than most of us are aware.

BRUCE BLIVEN

Autumn

Is it only leaves loose on the wind, and evening early,
Wan dogwood gone to incredible red haws,
Ash-trees rustling, a cold scent in the air?
Is it harvest?
Is it the end of the war?
Say it is scuffed leaves even in city streets, and always
Dusk early and bare, and the heart sore.
Or can it be
Five people around a homely lamp and an old
Book on a dull red cotton cloth, and the words
Of an indifferent poet stumblingly spoken
While the chill dusk comes down,
And the voices pause,
And eyes look elsewhere, as, tattered and cold and broken,
The year limps past them.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

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Washington Notes

Just Before the Battle

THE CROWDS stand and cheer. Children wave flags. Here come the police outriders, then a car of secret servicemen. And then—that's him, that's Roosevelt, the President of the United States! Mom, he looked right at me, he waved his hat, he smiled! . . .

I have traveled with Mr. Roosevelt through New York, Philadelphia and Chicago in the past week. This week it's Boston—and what have you. There's an extraordinary warmth about Mr. Roosevelt. He gets over to the crowds. He's en rapport with the American people. Funny about him and Dewey; Dewey probably would make a good President in some ways: efficiency and all that. But where are the warmth, the personality and kindliness that get over to the masses? You feel about Dewey that he is cold and calculating, and you feel it even more strongly if you study his speeches. To lead the American people you need something besides a Gallup Poll.

It rained through the streets of New York. It rained again in Philadelphia. In Chicago it was bitterly cold. The President rode in an open car. He put on those steel braces which I believe, he had hoped to omit for good. Roosevelt is older. He now delivers most of his speeches sitting down, instead of standing with those rigid braces propping him against the podium which he clutches, for half or three quarters of an hour, with his powerful hands. Yes, he is older. But his speeches have most of their old effectiveness. The difficulty is the war. He has to damp them down. The Teamsters' speech was the old rollicking 1932 brand. But you can't give too many speeches of that swinging type when you want to keep even the GOP members of the Senate on your side, after the election is over and done with.

Reporters agree this has been one of the dirtiest campaigns in recent years. Within 24 hours last week came the double charge that one Democratic candidate, Mr. Roosevelt, was boldly "offering for sale special privilege," and that the other Democratic candidate, Harry Truman, was an ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan.

The chief hope in this campaign relates to foreign affairs, and the chief fear involves this same subject. Governor Dewey has accepted the sweeping Roosevelt thesis of giving wide authority to the American delegate on the new world security council. On paper at least, the two candidates see eye to eye. Governor Dewey deserves full credit for the declaration made over the tearful objection of The Chicago Tribune. At many a time in the future it will be useful in prodding nationalist-minded Republicans. But the fear arises in the same field. More and more the GOP candidates seem to be writing a proviso on their approval of Dumbarton Oaks—a proviso that the Republicans will be good boys only if Governor Dewey is elected. It is an amazing situation when you stop to think of it. It is a species of blackmail. Elect our man and we'll work for world peace; otherwise—watch out.

I have been talking recently with a well informed man just back from Russia. I would say he was neither Russophile nor Russophobe. He just believes, as most sensible people do, that the future of world peace depends on an understanding and coöperative agreement among Russia and the United States and, of course, Britain. He emphasizes the extreme sensitivity of the Russians. Here are some more points he makes, before I come to the main conclusion. There are few gray shades in the state-controlled Russian press; things are black or white. When their writers are critical, it is with a vituperative, violent, Pegler technique. Stalin wants two things: peace and Russian reconstruction. Everything turns on these twin desires. Russians are extremely suspicious of the rest of the world, though my informant thinks things have taken a turn for the better with efforts by Roosevelt and Churchill. (Incidentally, he says Stalin's appearance with Churchill at the ballet on the latter's recent visit was a good sign: such actions set the tone for much that is thought and uttered in Moscow.) Like other returned visitors, my informant stresses Stalin's remarkable grasp of military affairs, his detailed knowledge of Allied war problems. Another thing Russians know about the outside world—and it comes as a shock to Americans—is American isolationism. (Most Americans, probably, don't realize how much the rest of the world hangs on this subject.) Russia is suspicious of America, as many Americans are of Russia, but for different reasons. Russians don't believe that a military clash with capitalistic America will arise in almost any conceivable circumstances. But they do fear that America will seek a soft peace, lose interest in postwar affairs and set up new trade barriers. In trade, Russia has almost unlimited requirements for American machinery, but will America take Russian exports in exchange? That is the commercial enigma of the future. Finally, Russians believe that Americans still do not appreciate what German atrocities mean—calculated, efficient, coldblooded mass killings, under a philosophy that regards lesser breeds as lower animals better exterminated. Until casual-minded Americans, with soft, comfortable convictions, realize that this devilish ideology is really loose in the world, Russians will find it hard to believe that America means business in the security business.

Are the Russians following our election campaign? You bet your life! It is a statement of simple fact, I believe, not a political opinion, that all Europe today, outside of Germany, favors Mr. Roosevelt's reëlection. But consider Mr. Dewey and Russia, particularly in the light of the latter's suspicion and sensitivity. Approach it from the Russians' angle. Who is this Governor Dewey? Well, he is the man who, as recently as January 20, 1940, denounced Mr. Roosevelt for straying from the GOP foreign-policy path—"A conspicuous and most unfortunate departure was the recognition by the New Deal of Soviet Russia." How about Governor Dewey in more recent times? Well, in his New York foreign-affairs speech the other day he took the part of the irreconcilable London Poles in the midst of the delicate Moscow conversations. This was the Dewey speech which caused Walter Lippmann to declare: "His remarks were pin-pointed at the current negotiations by someone who does not want a compromise to succeed." Do the Russians like that? Naturally not. And finally, it's the Dewey

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party which is now spreading the old Communist-bogey scare over the United States, risking America's future world relationship by reviving this decrepit old scarecrow.

President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey are theoretically in favor of the same Dumbarton Oaks world security organization. But on the latter's record toward Russia alone, what sane person can believe that his efforts at international coöperation can be successful?

Washington T. R. B.

The Red and the Black

"THE RAINBOW," a Russian film adapted from a Stalin Prize Novel written by Wanda Wasilewska, shows as little tolerance, love, mercy, dignity, breadth of understanding or nobility as any work of art I have ever seen. It treats the most common movie story of this war, the one that shows the brutal way Nazis ruled the people in conquered countries (in this case the people of a Ukrainian village), how they failed to get the people to collaborate with them, and their final defeat by soldiers of the people; but it treats it with a mad-eyed simplification unsurpassed in war films.

The Nazis are shown only as craven murderers, who confine their killing to babies, children, mothers and wounded prisoners. In one case the reason given for the murder is the refusal of a Partisan woman to give information; but all the rest of more than a dozen crimes are done completely without provocation. "The Rainbow" suggests that most of these Nazis are fools, but doesn't bother to explain them any further; they are hardly even placed as Fascists. By carefully spreading the outrages throughout all types and ranks of German soldiers shown and implying that there are no exceptions, the movie suggests that all German soldiers are hopeless psychopathic killers, and by carefully planting a sentence at the beginning of the film—"These Germans behaved as Germans"—the movie also implies that their brutality is the trait of a nation. The characters of the Russians are taken just as coarsely for granted: they are given one characteristic—fearlessness, one face—hateful, and one desire—to revenge themselves on the Nazis.

It ends with the most cruel-minded episode since the hero in "Passage to Marseilles" machine-gunned some Nazis who were asking to be taken prisoner. The scene is one in which a peasant heroine stops the other women of her village from clubbing the Nazi prisoners to death, by screaming that they should not give them so easy a punishment as quick death, but should let them see their armies starved and beaten, their cities destroyed, and have them "answer for their wrongs before a People's Court; then we'll kill them." This scene suggests, among other things, that all prisoners be killed, since the prisoners referred to are the total number of those taken in the capture of the town, and would presumably include guilty, less guilty and simply prisoners of war. The woman's speech also implies that the courts for trying war prisoners after the war will simply be places for prisoners' confessions to be heard before the inevitable verdict of death.

Since the Russians and their country have felt Nazi cruelty as much as anyone, it is understandable that their movie makers see the war almost wholly as an affair of killing, cruelty and revenge. But their method, in this film, of showing it only as that is the narrowest possible and one that results for the audience in no understanding of the problem of the Nazis beyond the fact that vengeance must be taken on them. Also, by cutting out of its Russians any response to the war except an unyielding determination to kill every Nazi, the movie leaves its audience with the idea that there is only one thing the Russians want to do about Nazism—kill the Nazis. And the facts themselves of cruelty, killing and revenge are so oversimplified that one is left with the idea that anybody can become cruel and can kill, given the provocation, without any complication, and without, presumably, experiencing any effects in himself.

"The Rainbow's" way of showing its viewpoint turns up some creditable things but more sterile ones, because of one-trait characterization, an uninspired use of disparate and worn-out movie devices and a basically puerile romanticism. A couple of actors, G. Klering and Natalia Alisova, strain the straitjacket character of their roles (as Nazi Commandant and kept woman) with a likably ham style of acting, which is about all they could use on two roles that were first thought up about the time of Griffith and have been seen ever since in German, Russian and American sex films. "The Rainbow" always has a determination to say something, no matter what, that is more vigorous than is usual in movies these days. This determination leads, midway in the picture, to a couple of situations that are developed in a full, firm way and produce some genuine movie meaning. One is a description of a childbirth that pulls in scenes of the environment and alludes in a crude, pleasant way to the birth of Christ, in a nearly successful, emotionally moving scene. The other expresses the moronic quality of a Nazi by showing his bewildered, ineffectual attempts to communicate with some unpleasant children. It is the one place in the picture where human activity is seen without complete simplification. MANNY FARBER

A Must Handbook

The Theatre Book of the Year: 1943-1944, by George Jean Nathan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 328 pages. $3.

THIS IS the second number of the play-by-play history of the metropolitan theatre year, with critical comment, that Mr. Nathan has planned by way of a welcome institution.

The scheme is an excellent one for current reference and future research. Inch by inch and day by day, with the patience and interest of a true theatre person, profoundly interested in the drama, the stage, the public response and his own self—which last is entirely right or he would not truly be theatre—the author sets down the events on Broadway, some of them absorbing, some too dull for most of our human endurance. He has enough inside information to help him past any silly theoretical waste of time or the judicial pitfalls not uncommon in the general run of theatrical criticism as practised among us. He has, too, a wise amount of acquaintance among theatre persons of importance or at least of promise; so that he can often say what the author hoped for or first wrote, what was changed, what trimmed, ruined or improved, as the case

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might be, to fit the occasion. Furthermore, he has a just pride in his own relation to all this mêlée of art, talents, rubbish, vulgarity, distinction and chance that go to make up a certain aura. It is the aura of that precarious, bastard, dazzling and hypnotic deity that may preside over the special, golden, lousy and unequal rout that is the theatre. My very profusion of epithets here is in itself an expression of the theatre's multiplicity.

The volume leads off with an engaging foreword, followed by a page of Honor List. The best new dramatic play is said to be Miss Franken's "Outrageous Fortune," the best new comedy is Mr. Van Druten's "The Voice of the Turtle," the best new musical exhibit is "Carmen Jones." Among directors, the best is Mr. Van Druten, among male acting performances the best is that of Mr. José Ferrer in "Othello"; the best female performance is Miss Elsie Ferguson's in "Outrageous Fortune." The best scene designer is Mr. Stewart Chaney in "Jacobowsky and the Colonel." Et cetera, et cetera. Mr. Nathan, of course, would be far from expecting me to agree with all these decisions, though I must admit I have in most cases no worthy alternatives to propose (in the realm of the blind the one-eyed is king—the least ugly daughter is the family beauty—such proverbs as these might serve us here). Only in the case of Mr. Ferrer's Iago should I differ violently with Mr. Nathan's opinion. This was a performance that seemed to me to have about one-tenth of the intellectual subtlety, one-twentieth of the inner intensity, and none and less than none of the Renaissance air of elegance, that belong to the role. *Mœis non alors par exemple!* as the Frenchman said.

For some seasons now it has been a commonplace for people coming to New York from the provinces to express both surprise and disappointment at the poor state of our theatre, the lack of any training that might make the players interesting, the commonness, banality and flatness, not to say perpetual repetition of effect, in most of what is to be seen. They are, in fact, putting it very politely. The truth is that when confronted with the names or likenesses of most of the players one cannot be sure whether one has seen them on the stage or in the subway; and what's more it takes a great deal of printed publicity and ballyhoo to make one care either way. Something of the same thing should, therefore, be kept in mind about dramatic criticism. If most of our so-called dramatic criticism has nothing to do with the theatre art at all, which certainly it has not, we should strive to remember that most of the dramatic critics so-called have never seen much theatre worth seeing and never heard of any theatre esthetics. We are lucky if the critic is even literate.

On the above score Mr. Nathan comes in triumphantly. He knows the theatre and its history, the modern drama, the annals of the players. He knows the weak spots and the pretensions, as when he speaks of Miss Margaret Webster's intention to lighten the dramatic classics, whether they intrinsically bear lightening or not. He knows that Miss Elisabeth Bergner does not understand in the least how to incorporate her own histrionism into the compositional flow of a play and not allow it to become mere extrinsic solo exhibitionism.

And only time and practice and knowledge of the whole game from all sides can contrive to sum things up as the following does about "Those Endearing Young Charms."

> This [says our annalist] was undoubtedly a bad play before the author undertook to rewrite it following an unsatisfactory try-out in Philadelphia. It is in its final shape an even worse one. The reasons are four: Mr. Chodorov does not know what he is talking about; he is apparently unfamiliar with the drama of the past and hence imagines himself to be daring when he is only humorously passé; he believes that comedy relief may be achieved by an exuberant delivery of comatose material; and, above all, he has been willing to cheat what measure of probity his old sex theme has by toadying to the box-office with a cheap and fraudulent moral ending. Mr. Chodorov has been in Hollywood.

There is something both useful and distinguished in taking the trouble to make such matter as that so right and so clear.

STARK YOUNG

A Communication

We Might Not Have a President

SIR: We might not have a President on some future Inauguration Day. The attempted revolt of a substantial number of the Texas electors, the intention of some of the regular Democratic electors of Louisiana and other states to vote for someone other than their party's nominee at the meeting of the Electoral College, bring us face to face with this possibility.

The question of how the executive should be elected presented almost insurmountable difficulties to the men who wrote the Constitution. The electoral idea was a compromise between the small and large states. The method of choosing electors was left to the state legislatures. The founding fathers undoubtedly expected the electors to use their independent judgment. For a time, electors voted as they pleased, but the establishment of political parties changed this. Early in our history the electors became automata to register the party's will. Today, an elector who did not vote for his party's nominee would be breaking faith and would be in disgrace with his party's leaders. But he would be within his legal rights.

Naturally, the leaders of each party profess to think their nominee will be chosen by a substantial majority. If, however, the forthcoming election is close, and if a number of electors "break out of harness," January 20 will find the nation in a tragic condition—without a Chief Executive. It could happen this way. The new Congress meets on January 3. The electoral vote is required to be counted on January 6. Control of the new House is being bitterly contested. When it meets, on January 3, it will have to organize. It cannot organize until it elects a Speaker. Should the deadlock over the speakership be unbroken by January 6, the two Houses of Congress cannot even meet in joint session on that date to count the electoral vote, much less proceed to the election of a President or Vice President.

Assuming, however, the prompt election of a Speaker of the House, the peril of having no President is not avoided. A majority of 266 electoral votes is necessary to elect. Independents or rebels can deprive any candidate of a

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majority. The election is then thrown into the House and the members proceed to vote for President. With inauguration on January 20, Representatives have only 12 weekdays to make a choice. Each state has but one vote, determined by its political complexion in the House. Based on the pre-November 7 picture, three states—Washington, West Virginia and Idaho—having an equal number of Democrats and Republicans, would have no vote. The voting might result in a tie or deadlock. The present representation gives the Democrats 24 states, the Republicans 21.

If the House has the duty of electing a President, the election of a Vice President automatically devolves upon the Senate. The Vice President, if elected, would act as President until the House elected one. But the Senate might not be able to elect a Vice President. A majority of all Senators is necessary for a choice. Third-party Senators, absentees or vacancies might make a majority impossible. Furthermore, a constitutional quorum of two-thirds is necessary to elect a Vice President. It would be an easy matter to prevent the required number from assembling.

Then there is the remote possibility of the death or disqualification of both the President-elect and Vice President-elect before Inauguration Day. What would we do then? The Succession Act, passing the office down through the Cabinet, applies only after a President has taken the oath of office.

These risks were real even before the Twentieth Amendment, when Inauguration Day was March 4. They were emphasized by the passage of the Norris Amendment. Section 3 recognizes the peril and the absolute necessity of a remedy. It gives Congress the right to designate a person to act as President and thereby avoid a hiatus in the office of Chief Executive. To wait until the tragic event is upon us would be unpardonable negligence.

On April 19, 1940, I introduced a bill, H. R. 2532, to implement the Twentieth Amendment and avoid this danger to the republic. This proposal was that the Speaker of the House, if one had been elected, or the president of the Senate *pro tempore*, if the speakership had not been settled, should act as President until one had been elected and qualified. This bill passed the House in the Seventy-seventh Congress but was pigeonholed in the Senate. In the Seventy-eighth Congress, I filed the same bill, H. R. 678, which was reported unanimously by the Judiciary Committee, but for one reason or another has slumbered for a year and will expire on January 3 in the tender custody of the Committee on Rules.

In the new bill to amend the procedure, I have again named the Speaker of the House as first choice for acting President. He will have been duly elected by the people as a Representative and by his colleagues, who are themselves "fresh from the voters," as Speaker. Either in his case, or in that of the president of the Senate, it is true that there would be some intermingling of executive and legislative functions, which is undesirable. But it would be still more undesirable to have the Secretary of State named, or some other member of the Cabinet. Cabinet members are not elected, but appointed, and the administration under which they are serving might be one already repudiated at the polls. The important thing is that somebody be designated, and promptly.

ESTES KEFAUVER

The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The Bandwagon

All the Japanese have to do in future operations is to project their indomitable spirits at the enemy and they will suffer internal fear that will defeat them before they get into the fight. – *A Tokyo radio broadcast after the Battle of Leyte Gulf, as reported in The New York Times.*

I have a passion for the deep freeze. I think it will revolutionize the family. – *Governor Thomas E. Dewey, as quoted in Life.*

It never was necessary to ration anything in this war. All that was needed was to tell the people what to do. It was all done to make jobs for Democrats. – *Governor Simeon S. Willis of Kentucky, as quoted in The Winchester Sun.*

EGG CEILING RAISED IN PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who will deliver a major campaign address tomorrow night in Hunt armory, will arrive in the city at noon tomorrow, Republican campaign headquarters announced today. – *Headline and first paragraph of story in The Clarksburg (West Virginia) Exponent.*

One thing in favor of the [stock] market was the receding of the hope that the war is likely to end soon and thus precipitate the peacetime depression that is now so much discussed. – *Carlton A. Shrively in The New York Sun.*

America's first interest is the Philippines. Japan has not only promised them their independence but has given them their independence. They are being excellently governed by Filipinos of such high caliber that our propaganda has not ventured to call them quislings. But we, too, have promised the Filipinos their freedom "at the earliest practicable date." Then the only practical issue to be settled between our government and the Japanese government and the Filipino government is, Who shall occupy the naval base which we built? We hardly need to fight a costly war to settle that. – *Frederick J. Libby, well known pacifist, writing in Peace Action.*

It is very hard to hold onto the usual New Masses objectivity when you sit face to face with Beauty. – *The New Masses.*

Dr. Carver Reaches the Top

Once, it is said, he was traded for a horse. Yet George Washington Carver—through his patience and his insatiable thirst for knowledge—became so widely known for his experiments in botany, agriculture and soil conservation that he was welcomed into the distinguished inner circles of such men as Thomas Edison and Henry Ford. – *The biography of George Washington Carver, as advertised in The Atlantic Monthly.*

Thanks a Million

ASTHMA SPASMS
Liberal Supply Free

– *Head and subhead on an advertisement in The New York Post.*

Brave New World

Royal Italian Carabinieri have fired on peasants who tried to take over untilled land belonging to the estate of Prince Torlonia at Ortucchio in the Marsica province. – *Reuters dispatch from London.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Ganging Up on the Japanese Americans

SIR: In the Pacific Northwest, the chief issue is not who shall be elected in the November elections, but whether Japanese Americans shall be allowed to return here after the war.

The Remember Pearl Harbor League has been formed here to ban those of Japanese ancestry from the Puyallup and White River Valleys. Around 2,000 members have been enrolled. The organization was generated at a mass meeting of Kent and Auborn (near Seattle) residents who first met in a public hall and finally in the Auborn high-school auditorium. I did not know that school buildings could be used for avowedly political purposes. . . .

Exact methods to be used are the old ones of economic boycotting, unfriendliness and every "means short of violence." There is some talk of burning them out, but this, at least so far, has not been advocated by the leaders. A constitutional amendment to revoke the citizenship of the Japanese has been proposed.

These Nisei have not been accused of disloyalty to the United States; rather it is the fear of economic competition that drives the rabble-rousers to attempt to deny them their just rights.

Mayor William F. Devlin of Seattle has issued a statement denouncing those who foster racial intolerance and injustices of any kind. Director Dillon S. Myer of the War Relocation Authority, and his West Coast assistant, R. B. Cozzens, have shown that the 12,000 Japanese-Americans in the American army are making an enviable record for themselves. Many church groups are also opposing the Remember Pearl Harbor League and its nefarious activities.

It is significant that the promoters of this organization, or gang, are chiefly small business men or truck gardeners. Most of the Japanese formerly here were also small business men or truck gardeners. The moral is obvious.

Seattle, Wash. RALPH ERICKSON

Beef and Appeasement

SIR: The British reaction to the proposed international boycott on Argentine exports has been far from cordial. One British paper expressed what seems to be a general view: "We like the Argentine brand of fascism as little as does Mr. Cordell Hull, but we also prefer Argentine beef to American pork." Permit me at this time to burst into rhyme:

The Nazis are beasts,
Unspeakably vile,
When dropping their bombs
On our tight little isle;
But when fascism comes
To a land far away,
We can look in the icebox
And plaintively say:

"*Freedom of Speech* in the Argentine
Would be very nice, if it didn't mean
We had to eat Prem, and Treet and Spam
And swap roast beef for American ham.

"We hail the doctrine of *Freedom from Fear*,
But freedom from pork we hold more dear.
We'd fight oppression in Argentina
If Iowa's pork were a little leaner.

"*Freedom of Worship* is wonderful, too,
(Though it doesn't include the Argentine Jew)
We loathe the dictators, one and all,
But our ration of beef is so dreadfully small.

"The members of the Conservative Party
Like their sherry mellow and roast beef hearty:
Though it's Franco's wine and Ramirez' meat,
We'll gobble it down, for we hate pig's feet.

"We'll fight for freedom (or so we say)
Till it comes to pork, then we shy away.
A prewar menu is the Magna Carta
Of the Lords of the Realm and the Knights of the Garter."

New York City JOHN FREY

Politeness in New York

SIR: I should like to make a request for information. I am a Westerner who, for urgent business reasons, has had to live for some months in New York; and I have been struck by the extraordinary rudeness of nearly all the public servants with whom I have come into contact. Bus conductors snarl at you; policemen growl at you; waiters refuse to be pleasant, and will not say thank you for any tip less than four or five times what is customary. I don't believe that I am at fault with all these people; I have never had such treatment anywhere else. What I want to know is: Is it the war? If I went back home, would I find that public manners have deteriorated there? Or is something the matter with New York?

New York City WESTERNER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Clinton A. Karr, of Huntington, West Virginia, writes to us concerning progressive prospects in the coming West Virginia congressional elections. In the First District, Democratic Governor Matthew M. Neely is running against the present Republican Representative, A. C. Schiffler. Mr. Karr says Representative Schiffler voted against the soldiers'-vote bill, against reciprocal trade treaties, against anti-inflation legislation and for the continuation of the Dies Committee. Governor Neely, an old friend of labor, has the support of the CIO in his campaign against Schiffler.

In the Fourth District, Democratic Judge E. B. Pennybacker is running against Republican Representative Hubert S. Ellis, who, our correspondent says, is "an obstructionist . . . his system being to vote against all administration measures and for all bills which the administration opposes." Mr. Karr thinks Judge Pennybacker's chances are good because of the increased registration in the district, plus the support of labor and of Willkie Republicans.

Joseph Lewis, of Purdy's, New York, suggests that election day be changed from a weekday to Sunday, to enable more people to get to the polls. This would remove the hardship to working people, Mr. Lewis says, as well as doing away with the disruption of normal business activities.

H. J. Cohen, 130 West Twelfth Street, New York City 11, is writing a biography of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and would be glad to get in touch with anyone who has material of interest on the philosopher.

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Books in Review

The Two Erskine Caldwells

ERSKINE CALDWELL is two writers, both good of their kind, and one a sort of genius in his own narrow field. They collaborate on most of his books, but with conflicting aims; and the result is that reading some of his novels—including the latest, "Tragic Ground"[1]—is like a week-end visit to a bickering household. "I am a social novelist," says the first Caldwell. "I study the Southern tenant farmers, white and black, I describe their hopeless plight, and I suggest means by which it might be remedied—if not in this generation, which is lost already, then at least in twenty or thirty years. If I had my life to live over, I should prefer to be a working sociologist." The second Caldwell doesn't talk about his aims, and in fact he isn't completely conscious of them; but sometimes, pushing his twin brother away from the typewriter, he begins pounding out impossible fancies and wild humor.

These two Caldwells bear a family resemblance as writers; both of them deal with the same background and both are moved by anger and pity. Sometimes in short stories they achieve an almost perfect union between the social doctrines of the first and the exuberance of the second. In novels, however, they always seem to be working at cross purposes. One of them is bent on achieving effects which the other tries to weaken or destroy.

In "Tobacco Road," for example (I mean the novel and not the play, which Caldwell didn't write), the sociologist was trying to present the utterly hopeless life of tenant farmers on worn-out soil. In Chapter VII he wrote a little essay to prove that "coöperative and corporate farming would have saved them all." But the imaginative Caldwell was not impressed by this argument. His contribution to the book was Jeeter Lester, who is not a tragic or typical figure of decay, but rather a sort of earth spirit, dirty, goatish, morally irresponsible and given to picturesque language. "I used to be a powerful sinful man in my time," Jeeter says. "I reckon I was at one time the most powerful sinful man in the whole country. Now, you take them Peabody children over across the field. I reckon clear near about all of them is half mine, one way or another." There have been hundreds of poems and stories written in the vain attempt to introduce the god Pan into American folklore. Our woods are still unpeopled with fauns, nymphs or satyrs, but we do have Huckleberry Finn, who is a sort of river spirit; and we also have Jeeter Lester, who might be Huck in his old age. How can we pity Jeeter, or try to abolish him, when he represents our half-conscious desire for freedom from moral restraints?

The two Caldwells are even more at variance in "God's Little Acre." When this fable about Ty Ty Walden's sons and the beautiful Griselda is suddenly transformed into a social novel; when Will Thompson, after acquiring heroic strength by sleeping with Griselda, makes the symbolic gesture of turning on the current in the idle cotton mill, and then defies the company police, dying not like a man but like a demigod—at this moment the book falls apart; reality corrupts the fable, while itself acquiring a fabulous character that makes it less than reality. "Trouble in July" is a more consistent novel, the best that Caldwell has written, but here again the two authors are in conflict. For one thing, they can't agree about Katie Barlow: the poet admires her for her unrestrained and quite incredible passion; the sociologist detests her for causing the death of a Negro boy. And they also differ about the amiable sheriff, Jeff McCurtain, who always went fishing when there was trouble in Julie County, although there was nothing he hated more than fishing trips. Sheriff Jeff is a mythical but convincing figure, so long as he hasn't any moral qualms. At the end of the book, however, after Sonny Clark has been lynched and Katie stoned to death for trying to save him, Jeff has a sort of conversion to social responsibility. "To perform his duty as he sees it, without fear or favor," he says. "That's a mighty pretty oath for a man in public office to swear to. I reckon I had sort of forgotten it." And the remark seems just as false and sententious as, let us say, a Puritan sermon would have been in Falstaff's mouth.

In his latest novel, "Tragic Ground," the two Caldwells are apparently less in agreement than ever before. This time Caldwell One, the sociologist, is writing about the general plight of workers in a war-boom town when the powder mill closes and they have no money to get home again. But Caldwell Two is writing about the special plight of Spence Douthit, who might well be Jeeter Lester's cousin, and who in any case is so shiftless that he could never be out of trouble. Caldwell One is inclined to blame Spence's misfortunes on the fact that he and his family had left Beaseley County, where they belonged. They now live in Poor Boy, a group of tumbledown shacks on the banks of a ship canal, where there is no way to earn a living except by prostitution or peddling marijuana. One of the characters, a returned soldier named Jim Howard Vance, makes a touching speech about Poor Boy. "Back home," he says, "people like us are just as good as people anywhere else in the world. If you want to do the right thing, you ought to put all the blame on Poor Boy, because it's Poor Boy that causes all the trouble. The finest folks in the world would get mean and bad if they had to live in a place like this." Then, at this solemn moment, Caldwell Two invents a final speech for Spence Douthit. "I've sort of got used to Poor Boy now," he says, "and I'm mighty afraid I'd be homesick way off up there in Beaseley County if I had to stay there any length of time."

Meanwhile Spence has managed to get himself involved in several hilarious adventures: for example, when he finds his oldest daughter, Libbie, in bed with Jim Howard Vance, and starts a long conversation about Beaseley County, while Libbie tries to make him go away; and

[1] Tragic Ground, by Erskine Caldwell. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 237 pages. $2.50.

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QUEENS VOTERS... YOU'VE BEEN MIS-REPRESENTED!

On November 7th, the people of Queens can do some very necessary housecleaning. They will have a chance to vote out of office—with a resounding "we don't want you"—arch-isolationist and Nazi playmate William B. Barry.

Although Barry readily admits having voted against every proposal made to arm the nation, he is the chosen candidate for re-election of the American Labor and Democratic Parties.

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Not only has the ALP endorsed Barry, it is fervently seeking his re-election. Candidate of a new party, Walter was placed on the ballot through nominating petitions. The ALP combed the election laws with a fine-tooth comb seeking technicalities with which to remove Walter from the ballot.

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again when he goes to "a real high-class place" called the White Turkey to rescue his youngest daughter, aged thirteen, from a life of prostitution that she thoroughly enjoys. Mrs. Douthit lies on her cot all day, except when she drinks a big bottle of Dr. Munday's Tonic and goes reeling naked into the yard. When a social worker appears in the Douthit shack with "a sacred duty to perform," as she says, ". . . the task of adjusting your lives to the complex pattern of modern life," Maud Douthit mistakes her for a necktie saleswoman. "Get going, sister," she says, "I don't allow no women coming around here trying to get sported." But while Spence and his wife have no truck with any sort of moral standards, Jim Howard Vance, who finally marries Libbie, is obsessed with serious notions of reform; and there is also a neighbor with moral compunctions; he murders a young half-wit for sleeping with his daughter and then surrenders to the police. The intrusion of moral feeling spoils the comedy, making you hesitate to laugh; the comedy spoils the social message; and you are left with a book that falls apart into separate scenes, some of them vastly better than the story as a whole.

The two Caldwells have never agreed through a whole novel, but they can, as I said, sign a truce for the time it takes to write a short story. Social purpose and imagination are perfectly fused in stories like "Daughter," "The Negro in the Well," "Horse Thief" and "The People vs. Abe Lathan, Colored." The poet alone, with his wild humor, is responsible for "Maud Island," "The Night My Old Man Came Home" and, best of all, "Country Full of Swedes." All these are included in "Stories by Erskine Caldwell,"[1] a selection of twenty-four made by Henry Seidel Canby. In general Dr. Canby's selections are excellent, although he neglects the early stories of pre-adolescent love. His introduction is good, too; and in fact my only real complaint is that the book is too short. "Jackpot," an earlier collection that can sometimes be found on remainder counters, is better simply because it contains twice as many of Caldwell's stories. MALCOLM COWLEY

The History of a Book

Crux Ansata: An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church, by H. G. Wells. New York: Agora Publishing Company. 113 pages. $1.75.

WHEN English publishers feel nervous about the contents of a book, they sometimes print a small edition at an exorbitant price. A recent book to be thus published is Mr. H. G. Wells's "'42-'44," which appeared early this year in a limited edition, price two guineas. The reason why English publishers felt nervous about this volume was because in it Mr. Wells hurled a hefty hand-grenade at pretty nearly everyone in the British political field. He even included General de Gaulle. The book, despite its rarity and cost, was given space by reputable British newspapers. The Manchester Guardian found it "desperately disappointing"; The Times Literary Supplement thought a more appropriate title for the book would have been "The Hates of H. G. Wells"; while that most conservative of weeklies, The Spectator, considered that although

[1] Stories by Erskine Caldwell, selected with an Introduction by Henry Seidel Canby. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 237 pages. $2.50.

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Mr. Wells was "not always scientific, and at times a little rattled, [he] is more worth reading than anyone else now writing." So far—although a few copies have found their way across the Atlantic (Time magazine reviewed it)—"'42-'44" has not been published in this country; from which fact one may be justified in assuming that when American publishers feel nervous about the contents of a book, they simply ignore it.

Now, as though to confirm this assumption, appears another volume by Mr. Wells, entitled "Crux Ansata," [1] "An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church," published "underground" in New York by the Agora Publishing Company, a firm run by Dr. Leo H. Lehmann, editor of The Converted Catholic Magazine and himself a former Roman Catholic priest.

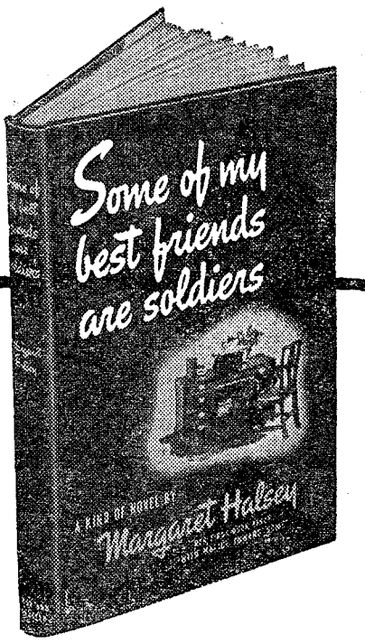
Since the details of "Crux Ansata's" publication and the treatment of it in the press are of as much, if not more, interest than the actual contents of the book, here is that history to date. First, it appeared in England *before* "'42-'44"—in September, 1943. Second, it was not put out in a high-priced limited edition, but at ninepence by the pocket Penguin Books, whose minimum editions are 50,000 copies. Now despite this fact, the only reference I can find to the volume in all the most reputable English newspapers is a line stating that it was "received" by The Times Literary Supplement (November 13, 1943). Not even among the so-called liberal weeklies has there been a single comment.

According to the editor of the London Literary Guide, Mr. John Rowland, who interviewed Mr. Wells in March, "Crux Ansata" was received with "vast indignation . . . by the organs of the Roman Catholic Church." This "vast indignation," the records reveal, came almost entirely from the pen of one man, Mr. de la Bedoyère, editor of The (English) Catholic Herald, who accused Mr. Wells of "feeding Nazi propaganda" and of evading a meeting with him "to discuss the misstatements in 'Crux Ansata'." This meeting, declares Mr. Wells, was in turn evaded by the editor, whom he believes he will never meet, "because whatever would take place would be falsified afterwards by Mr. de la Bedoyère in his paper." Mr. Wells then added a characteristic comment. "Trying to conduct a square discussion with a Roman Catholic," he said, "is like trying to use a live eel as a walking stick." So much for "Crux Ansata" in England.

According to its American publishers, a copy of the book managed to reach them by way of an American friend of Mr. Wells to whom he had it sent. Penguin Books in New York, whose editorial policy is independent of their London branch, did not want to handle it, nor did any other American publisher of repute. Hearing this, the Agora Publishing Company cabled for Mr. Wells's permission to print. On receipt of it, they went ahead. When the text was ready for the binders, however, the Catholics at the bindery refused to work on the book, with the result that publication of "Crux Ansata" was delayed until June.

Apart from some fifty mildly unfavorable words in a back page of The New York Times, and a lengthy panegyric in The (Protestant) Churchman—in which the writer maintains that "Mr. Wells's facts are correct and

[1] "The Cross with a Handle," often occurring in Egyptian sculpture as a symbol of divinity.



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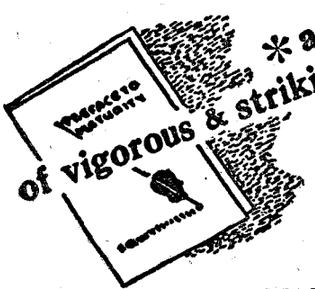
. . . only slander, defamation and the non-explicit assault can be used against the book"—"Crux Ansata" has been received in this country as it was in England, in silence. The more important organs of the Roman Catholic press have not said a word. Yet, notwithstanding this silence, the small amount of advertising, the obscurity of its publishers, the fact that four months after publication a Brentano sales girl was not aware of its existence (a copy of it there can be viewed only by trespassing on floor-space reserved for the staff)—despite such handicaps, "Crux Ansata" last week had sold more than 10,000 copies.

Such a boycott of a book speaks for itself. Unfortunately, no supporter of Mr. Wells could sincerely claim that he has done justice to his cause. Judged even by the mediocre literary standards of our time, "Crux Ansata" is a very poor book indeed. To "insist," for instance, that the present Pope is a man of "profound ignorance and mental inferiority," and a few lines later that "Life is too short for knowledge anyhow," does not suggest that Mr. Wells's strength lies in the polemical field. In fact, had this book been written by someone totally unknown, it would not deserve to be published at all. But the point is that its author is a world figure and its subject one of eternal controversy throughout that world. Had Mr. Wells written an equally poor work of fiction, as richly deserving of the silence "Crux Ansata" has received, is it likely that every reputable American publisher and editor would have looked the other way?

In his attempt to trace, in 113 pages, the history of the Roman Catholic Church, to reveal how, in part at least, by intrigue, persecution and corruption that institution has become so intimately entangled with international politics that today "it stands for everything most hostile to the mental emancipation and stimulation of mankind," Mr. Wells makes some quite astounding statements, which he leaves completely unsubstantiated. He starts off by claiming that "The Papacy is admittedly in communication with the Japanese, and maintains in the Vatican an active observation post." Observation post? Is Mr. Wells under the impression that Japan is the only nation employing a representative at Rome? Before the end of the book he is asserting that "Roman Catholics in America are influential because of their solid vote at elections, but for all that [they don't] like to hear of the Vatican-Japanese alliance." What *is* this Vatican-Japanese alliance? You'd think that if Mr. Wells (who at one point expresses a desire to "make this book as unaggressive as possible") considers this "alliance" so important, he'd at least let us hear something of it. But no. Nor is he much more "explicit" in his "assault" on Roman Catholicism in this country. In that chapter he begins by quoting an American Catholic journalist's ideas on the infallibility of the Pope. As though to disprove that infallibility, he cites this journalist's anecdote about what the American Cardinal Gibbons had to say on that subject after returning from the election of Pius X. " 'Well', he said, with a twinkle, 'he [Pius X] called me *Jibbons*'." Then, in the same chapter, Mr. Wells quotes Dr. G. G. Coulton (an Englishman), not on the subject of Catholicism in America, but again on the infallibility of the Pope. Next comes Lord Acton (an Englishman) on the papacy-inspired massacres in eighteenth-century Italy. Finally, there's Lady Blennerhasset (an Englishwoman) who, in turn, is made to quote Father Lamennais' remark about Rome being "the most hideous sewer that ever offended the eye of man." Having handed us this much information concerning American Catholicism, Mr. Wells comes to the conclusion that it "very plainly is bound to inflict some uncomfortable gymnastics on our Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Pontiff"!

In order to bolster his arguments Mr. Wells resorts, as should be evident, to a kind of mass-quotation, or "lifting," from the works of others. As The Churchman suggests, he is not untruthful; but, as that journal does not suggest, he tells only as much truth as happens to suit his purpose. In his account, taken mostly from J. R. Green's "Short History of the English People," of how in the reign of Charles I "thousands of English people perished" at the hands of Catholic mobs in Ireland, not one word is mentioned of the behavior in that country of Oliver Cromwell who, to play a Wellsian trick and quote only Landor, "lived a hypocrite and died a traitor." Now no man—not even an ignorant Anglo-Irish Protestant, born and brought up on the banks of the River Boyne, as this writer happens to have been—can decently allow Mr. Wells to get away with such a distortion of history. Since one of his chief sources of information seems to be "The Encyclopedia Britannica," let me quote a few lines of what that sober book of "facts" has to say about this "Lord Protector of England." After a brief account of how Cromwell stormed Drogheda, "putting all its defenders and all Catholic priests to the sword," it continues:



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The ignorance of Irish history displayed in his [Cromwell's] utterances is colossal. Claiming to be a judge "to ask an account of the innocent blood" shed in 1641, he lost all sense of justice through religious rancor; and the "righteous judgment" of which he spoke fell upon those who had no part in the original crimes.

If I write as though I were one of those with whom Mr. Wells would have his readers "avoid true and social intercourse . . . since they [Roman Catholics] have invented and developed a complex boycott of liberal thought," that is not my fault. It's Mr. Wells's. The above is a counsel of desperation uttered by the author of the best scientific novels in any language, who at 77 has become more than just "a little rattled." "It betrays," as Mr. Wells himself says of Saint Dominic, "the fatal exasperation of a man who has lost faith in the power of truth because *his* truth has not prevailed."

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DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

Should Mr. Wells's "truth" ever prevail, no doubt we would find ourselves living in a world dominated by "The Biologist Church," run by a body of experts on scientific research. This may be a nasty thought—in the eyes of some even more of a nightmare than what Mr. Wells describes as that "completest, most highly organized system of prejudices and antagonisms in existence"—but is even this sufficient reason why, in the press of two so-called democratic countries, the views of a world-famous writer, whatever we may think of them, should be almost completely ignored?

That there has been, and is, a tie-up between a large section of the Roman Catholic Church and Nazi-fascism, between it and most reactionary elements in this country, in Europe and elsewhere, few intelligent people will deny. But books, and good ones, have been published on this subject. Among the most factual and carefully documented is one entitled "Behind the Dictators." Unfortunately it is little known, for it was written by Dr. Leo H. Lehmann and, like "Crux Ansata," was published by the Agora Publishing Company. Mr. H. G. Wells should read it.

JAMES STERN

American Sketch Book

The American Character, by D. W. Brogan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 169 pages. $2.50.

EVER SINCE Lowell's essay on the condescension of our foreign critics, visiting Britishers who have written about Americans have learned to speak low and speak of love. Mr. D. W. Brogan, a Scotsman who holds a great chair of Political Science at Cambridge and who heads up American Intelligence for the British Broadcasting Corporation, has followed this precept in the present book. It would be hard for even the most sensitive American to resent a man who finds us "the most interesting country in the world." But even aside from these emollients, Mr. Brogan has given us no cause for resentment. He has lived and studied with Americans, sees them shrewdly and somewhat from on high but not unkindly, likes their idiom and nuances, and likes to show himself thoroughly at home with both, and has written a civilized and allusive book about them.

There has been an unhappy tendency on the part of the reviewers to discuss Mr. Brogan's book as if it were an exercise in Anglo-American relations. It may be, but that is a transitory and unimportant part of it. In the end it matters little what a particular visiting cousin thinks of us. What matters a good deal is what anyone, be he American, British, Tibetan or Bantu, can do in the way of shedding light on the American civilization, and on the manner of man who is growing up on this continent. I know that any mature writer would prefer to be treated as a thinker and not as a visitor, on the basis of his contribution rather than of his amenities.

What troubles me here is Mr. Brogan's disclaimer about having written with "profundity." Surely this is idle talk. Either a man has dug as deep into a problem as he knows how, or he has not. If the first, he needs no apology; if the second, no apology will do. I cannot escape the feeling that the author of "The Development of Modern France," one of the great books of our day, could have given us the

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book about the American character and American institutions which would leave Bryce behind as a touchstone of analysis and create a new one. He has not done it. Instead he has written a book which is a collection of brilliant *aperçus* about America as a way of life, but most of them have the sparkle and surface polish of good after-dinner conversation—and stop there. They lack the density and the impact of the important studies, whether by foreigners or Americans.

I think that is because Mr. Brogan, for all his being British, is so close to us that while he sees our traits and manners with great freshness, he takes our basic institutions pretty much for granted. De Tocqueville did not: where Mr. Brogan has the consuming eye and the quick phrase, de Tocqueville had the brooding intelligence which was continually inquiring what the effects of equality in society and individualism in belief would be on the human condition. Bryce had far less depth, but he had a massiveness and thoroughness that made his conclusions stick. The Russian, Ostrogorski, was pretty much wrong in his monumental study of American political parties, but even his wrongness has left an impact. And, more recently, Herbert Croly's "Promise of American Life" and Waldo Frank's "Rediscovery of America," however irritating their *o altitudo* flights, have demanded and commanded serious attention because they grappled with the deadly serious problems about American institutions—the one with political institutions and the question of a democratic elite, the second with the psychic sources of whatever has arrested the inner growth of Americans and the quest for what may release it.

Measured against these, Brogan's book seems to consist mainly of notes and marginalia to an analysis that is never attempted in any full-fledged way. He opens with a brilliant restatement of the Frederick Jackson Turner thesis about the effect of the frontier environment on the American character. There are interesting notes about American boosterism, about our tendency to draw for credit on the future, about our optimism and our basic confidence that everything is under control, even in a physical environment made precarious by natural threats and disasters. There are some shrewd things about the stretching out of the period of immaturity and adolescence in Americans, and some doubtful correlations between the rise of the American woman to a confidence in herself and the progress of reform movements and American international attitudes. There are some sound things about the American fear of "propaganda" and our pride in "semantics." There is a suggestive section on America as still dominantly rural in its sympathies and thinking despite its rapid urbanization. There is some valid, if not novel, discussion on the deep-rooted localism that lingers in our ways and thought. There are some notes on racist prejudices and religious bigotries and on their relation to politics, but nothing important on the place of religion in American life. There are notes on Congress and on the assimilative function of the American school. There is an acute discussion of how Americans act when they wage war. And a concluding section on the need for widening our national outlook to an international plane.

A book like this will be full of illuminations to several hundred thousand Americans who will read it as Book-of-the-Month subscribers. But while its style is one of the best now being written in English, it doesn't bite any more deeply into the American character than many of the magazine articles now appearing in the quality periodicals. Some of the critics have played around with the fact that the book was originally published in England as "The American Problem" and now appears here under its present title. I don't believe that the sea-change which the title has suffered has any particular meaning. Actually the book deals with a few American problems but not with *the* American problem, which still needs someone to define it. Actually it deals not with *the* American character (assuming you can discover one amid the pitfalls of national psychology) but with some American traits.

Whoever it will be who will write an important book on America today, he will have to face much tougher questions of economics and social theory, of national psychology, of politics and metaphysics, than Mr. Brogan has set for himself. He will have to ask how we came to build up such immense power-structures as our corporations, our trade unions, our political parties, and why we continue to fear power; why we have a way with machines and a knack for handling physical reality, yet flee from some of the crucial psychic realities; why we are at once idealistic and tough, moralists and pragmatists; why a people that is so optimistic has poured some of its best literary energy into the tradition not of "literary pessimism," as Mr. Brogan puts it, but of tragic and interior writing; why a people so afraid of being made fools of nevertheless has a variety of cults and heroes.

The not impossible commentator on America would have to deal with the Big Press, the Chain Radio and Mass Movies; with our fumbling economic strategies, with the paranoid sense the conservatives have of being surrounded by dangers, with our administrative revolution. He would have to deal with our genius for organization and our contempt for intellect. He would have to pose the question of the historical parallelism between us and another great organ-

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izing people, the Romans. And in place of Mr. Brogan's easy optimism about the American future, he would have to ask what inner strength there is in Americans and their culture which will prevent them from completing the historical trajectory of Rome. The problem of America is the key problem in the modern destiny. MAX LERNER

A Reader's List

THE WORKING PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY, by Oscar Lange (Research for Postwar Economics, 60 cents). Professor Lange, a leading authority on socialism, presents another of his excellent discussions of Russian economics. He appraises Soviet techniques in terms of the real objectives of the present regime. These objectives, he finds, are to raise Russia to the position of one of the world's leading industrial nations and to "secure the economic basis for effective national defense in an age of industrialized warfare." These aims, motivated by a justifiable sense of external insecurity, enforced a ruthless industrialization policy. Yet the Soviet authorities might have achieved their goals with a lower economic and human cost, says Professor Lange, had they been less contemptuous of "bourgeois" methods. The need consciously to direct production restricts, to some degree, freedom of consumer choice. Lange, however, stresses the fact that the Soviets have no desire to destroy completely the elements of consumer choice. Production, investment and fiscal policies are summarized with a clarity that makes this pamphlet outstanding. The author warns that the USSR must have freedom from fear if the democratic hopes of its peoples are to be fulfilled.

Crime and Punishment

NEW YORK MURDERS, edited by Ted Collins (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $2.75). This is the first of a Regional Murder Series, under the over-all editorship of Marie Rodell; in preparation are "San Francisco Murders" and "Chicago Murders." It's too bad, since the enterprise is worthy, that the first volume includes so much pedestrian writing. Leading off with the Walton-Matthews case (1860), there are reports of six other notable —and comparatively little known— affairs. Two exceptions to the general stodginess are Angelica Gibbs's account of the murder of Julia Wilkins (1919), and a real honey—"The Palm-Perry Case" (1937), by Edward D. Radin. Judging from this first volume, Mrs. Rodell will have to look sharp to rival the excellent job Stewart Holbrook did for Macmillan in his "Murder Out Yonder."

ALL FELL DOWN, by L. A. G. Strong (Crime Club, $2). When Matt Baildon, rare-book collector and penny-pinching, mean old Scot, is found dead in his library, it looks like an accident—as if the contents of his precariously piled-up shelves had cascaded down and conked him. But Scotland Yard's Inspector Ellis Mackay, on vacation, isn't satisfied, and his investigation turns up an impressive number of people, all with dandy motives, including Matt's wife and daughter. Noteworthy both for the well done bookish atmosphere and the excellent picture of a small west-of-England village, Mr. Strong's first detective story marks him as a man to watch in this field.

DARKNESS OF SLUMBER, by Rosemary Kutak (Lippincott, $2). Ten years before the story begins Eve Minary suddenly went into dementia precox and since then has been sleeping her life away in a mental hospital. Lately she has been responding amazingly well to metrazol shock treatment. During the final injection that may return her to the outside world, Eve dies. Marc Castleman, the doctor in charge, insists on an autopsy, over the objections of Eve's husband (who has remarried) and her brother. Marc finds she was poisoned. Who among her family and friends so feared Eve's regaining her sanity that murder was necessary? The puzzle is a neat one and a cast of interesting characters enlivens its solution. A promising debut. E. H.

8 BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it is only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Dr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. Most standard publishers are afraid to issue works that are frowned on by the orthodox and conventional. Such a restriction is never encountered in the editorial department of the H-J Publications. In the booklets listed below Dr. Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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Contributors

JAMES G. PATTON is the president of the National Farmers' Union, the rapidly growing, progressive, general farm organization, and is widely regarded as among the ablest liberal leaders of mass movements and popular opinion in the United States.

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JAMES STERN is the author of two collections of stories, "The Heartless Land" and "Something Wrong." His work has appeared in Harper's magazine, Harper's Bazaar and Esquire, and he has revised the translation of "Grimm's Fairy Tales" (with an introduction by Padriac Colum), soon to be published by Pantheon Books.

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